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LYNCH LAW.

JUDGE LYNCH is a very popular personage in some parts of the world, where society is rather free, but especially in the Southern States of the American Union. The summary manner in which he administers his code of laws is illustrated by the subjoined account of the "lynching" of an Abolitionist, given as nearly as possible in the victim's own words, the principal change being merely the substitution of the third person for the first. The narrative is a simple but forcible illustration of the operation of the system of slavery in keeping down opinion in relation to it, even when casually expressed.

Robert Edmond is a native of Scotland, who went to New York in the year 1839, and, after remaining there a short time, repaired to Charleston, South Carolina, to spend the winter months, with the intention of returning to New York in the spring. Whilst at Charleston he became acquainted with some of his own countrymen, who induced him to settle down amongst them, and engage in his business of a baker.

Having for a long time cherished the idea of becoming a Missionary, he ultimately sold his business, in order that he might apply himself to study, and was occasionally employed as a local preacher amongst the Methodists, by whom he was promised an introduction into one of their colleges. Had it not been for the trying circumstances which are detailed below, in all probability he would have become a regularly ordained minister.

From the first day of his residence in

Charleston he witnessed acts of cruelty and oppression unworthy the name of a people calling themselves Christian. The worst feature of Slavery, to his mind, was the keeping of the Slaves in utter ignorance, and making it a penal offence to give them instruction.

Speaking generally, he says the Southern people are kind and hospitable to strangers, and treat them with marked respect, so long as they are silent upon the subject of slavery. Should they, however, give the least indication that they disapprove of "the peculiar institution," their only safety would then be in flight. This fact may account, in a measure, for the treachery of some professedly anti-slavery people, who go to reside at the South, and who not only succumb to the baneful influence of the pro-slavery spirit, but often become openly identified with the slaveholder, and practise the same cruelties on the slaves of which they become possessed. So far, however, from yielding up his principles at the pro-slavery shrine, the more he became acquainted with the working of the system the more he was opposed to it.

In consequence of the labours which he felt called upon to perform for the elevation and religious instruction of the slave, a rumour got abroad that he was an Abolitionist. An elder of a Baptist church asked him one day if he knew the danger he incurred by teaching slaves to read, it being in opposition to the law of the State. He replied that "it might be against the law of man, but as it was not against the law of God, he was

disposed to run the risk of any penalties which might follow."

After giving up the baking business, he opened a school for the instruction of youth. Many of the children were planters' sons, and, as is the custom in the Southern States, he boarded with the parents of his pupils. In this way he became acquainted with many of the families of the place, and had opportunities of seeing the workings of slavery in the domestic circle, as well as on the cotton and rice-plantations.

About three miles from his school there lived a surgeon with whom he was on friendly terms, and whom he frequently visited. On arriving at his house one afternoon, he found him sitting at the door, reading a newspaper. After passing the ordinary salutations, the doctor said to him: "I have just been reading John Calhoun's speech, and it surpasses any thing I have ever read." There was at this time great agitation in Congress about the admission of California into the Union, and the Southern papers never failed to give a full report of the speeches of the Southern members. His host went on to say, that "the Southern people had been engaged in fighting the country's battles in Mexico, and had a perfect right to a portion of the territory acquired, to which they might take their slaves." He asked Edmond's opinion on the subject, but the latter declined giving it, being a foreigner, and taking no part in politics. The doctor still pressed for an opinion, but Edmond still endeavoured to avoid giving one, as he knew his true sentiments would create unpleasantness between them. At length, he said that he thought "slavery had spread itself widely enough, without extending it to new countries." The doctor's face coloured, and no doubt some angry expression would have followed, but the bell ringing for tea at the moment, led them to rise from their seats. The doctor was a single man, and boarded in a planter's family. They had not been seated long at the family tea-table before the doctor resumed the subject by saying: "Mr. Edmond, has not a master a right to take his property where he pleases?" Mr. Edmond said, "he had, but he did not consider that one man had a right to hold property in another." "What!" said the doctor, "does not the Bible teach that it is right to hold slaves?" Mr. Edmond said "it did not." "But it does," answered the doctor; "and it gives the master power to flog his slave." Edmond asked him to prove it. The doctor quoted the text—"The servant that knoweth his master's will, and doeth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes." Edmond smiled, and said: "Doctor, if that is to be applied to any particular class of persons, it is to the one you belong to, and the rod should be applied to your back for being so ignorant of

the Scriptures." The doctor maintained that the text had a reference to slaves; to which Mr. Edmond continued to demur. "I did not think you were such an Abolitionist, Mr. Edmond," said the doctor, looking very grim, and adding: "You should not preach to my slaves." They continued talking in this strain on the subject of slavery until bedtime, Mr. Edmond having accepted an invitation to remain for the night. The following morning, whilst he was reading, waiting for a summons to the breakfast-table, he heard the lady of the house say to one of the servants: "If that man had said to me last night what he said to the doctor I would have knocked him down." "Something is coming now," thought Edmond. The first intimation which he had of the coming wrath was his breakfast on a waiter, which he received at the hands of one of the slaves. Having put down the waiter, the slave remarked that "Missus had sent his breakfast, and that her feelings had been so hurt on the previous evening, by his observations relative to the negro slaves, that she could not permit him to sit at table with her." "You can take the breakfast back, then," he replied; "and tell your mistress that it is not required." Soon after this he made his way to his school. He was unable to teach that day, fearing that a false report might be raised, the result of which it was not pleasant to contemplate.

The following Sabbath he had an appointment to preach about ten miles off. It was a beautiful morning, and when he reached the chapel it was nearly full of slaves. Having conducted the service he prepared to return, when an impression came over him that it was advisable to choose another road than that by which he came. He did so, and it proved providential, for he was afterwards informed that a band of men were lying in wait for him, with the intention of tarring and feathering him.

A few days after this circumstance, having dismissed his scholars, and whilst engaged in writing the copies for the next day, he was startled by the sound of the prancing of horses near to his school-room, where he then was. He got up to ascertain from whence the noise proceeded, when to his astonishment he saw a band of men with masks on their faces, coming into the school. He stood and looked at them wondering what they meant. He thought that they had merely come to frighten him. One of them tried to lay hold of his hands, but he pushed him back, in return for which he received a blow on the head which laid him on the floor. They then seized him, tied his hands, and put a sack over his head, fastening it round his neck with a rope thick enough to hang him with. Whilst this was going on, he asked them what they were about to do with

him, but they made no reply, and commenced dragging him out of the school. The horror of his mind at this period was indescribable; for not only was he suffering from a sense of suffocation, but he feared they were about to plunge him into a pond close by, which was infested with rattle-snakes and alligators. Again it occurred to him that they were going to hang him, for he remembered that a Mr. Foote, a Southern member of Congress, had recently threatened one of the Northern members, that if he came to the South he would hang him to the top of a tree.

Another, but a scarcely less terrible ordeal, however, awaited him. They continued to drag him to a spot they seemed to have previously determined upon, where they had provided themselves with a quantity of tar and feathers. Having reached it, they proceeded to strip off his clothes, and such portions as they could not tear, they ripped off with their knives. They next took a brush and painted him all over with tar, and rolled him amongst the feathers. They then raised him to his feet, and took off the sack from his face to enable him to take a view of his position. He saw a mob of persons, some with guns, others with sticks, ready for any thing that their passions or their prejudices might suggest. At length one fellow stepped out of the mob and said: "I am now going to read your sentence." The word sentence went to his heart like a dagger, and he made sure that he was about to be condemned to be shot. The sentence was, that he should leave the neighbourhood in five hours, or receive thirty-nine lashes; and thirty-nine more for every five hours that he should persist in remaining. A "hempen cravat" was to be the penalty for continued contumacy. The mob then retired, leaving him in a nude state, besmeared with tar and feathers. He managed, presently, to untie with his teeth the cords with which his hands were bound, and urged his way as well as he was able to his home, about a mile and a half distant.

The planter with whom he had boarded was a man of intemperate habits, and Edmond had considered it his duty to warn him of the consequences of his conduct. Amongst other appeals which he had employed was that of the judgment to come, and the certainty of the evil one securing him as his prey, unless he reformed and repented. When Edmond entered the gate, the planter was sitting at the door, and, after gazing at the startling figure for a few seconds, bounded to his feet, exclaiming: "Lord! what is that?" Even the dogs that surrounded the house, when they saw Edmond, were frightened and slunk off. He made for the house as quickly as possible, for fear the planter might shoot him, who, however, having recognised him, at length ex-

claimed: "Edmond, what is the matter, and who has been serving you thus?" Edmond related the indignity that had been practised upon him, when the planter said: "I never was so frightened in my life; you had often told me that the devil would have me some day, and I really thought he had come at last."

Edmond's immediate concern was to seek means by which he might get rid of the filthy mass which adhered to his skin. The labour of a slave was soon called into requisition, and by the employment of lard and sweet-oil, with a plentiful supply of hot water, and with the adjunct of a scraper, he began to look like himself again. The operation, however, was extremely painful, and left its effects on his skin for a considerable period.

After partaking of a little refreshment, he retired to rest—but not to sleep—being scared by night visions, and ever and anon starting up in a fright, supposing that the mob was again surrounding him.

The next day he was too ill to rise from his bed, his whole body being in a feverish state. He sent, however, for a magistrate, to whom he related the whole affair, at the same time giving him the names of the ringleaders. In reply to his request that proceedings might be taken against the perpetrators of the enormity, the magistrate assured him "it was more than he durst do, and that his own life would be in danger if he attempted such a thing." He observed that he (Edmond) was charged with being "an Abolitionist, and also with having taught slaves to read, which was a capital offence in the State, and if he were proceeded against he would have to endure a further penalty." Edmond soon discovered that on the side of the oppressor there was power, but no law existed for those who might take the part of the poor slave. He would have left Charleston that day, but was so sick and ill that he was unable to move. On the following day, a meeting of the neighbours was held to take his case into consideration. Some were sorry such extreme measures had been resorted to, whilst others, in consequence of the reports which the doctor had raised, were for his immediate removal from the State. About two o'clock the planter's wife came running into his room, and cried out to him to get into the woods for his life, as there was a band of men on horseback coming down the lane with the intention of killing him. The mob was soon at the gate, but they were refused admittance by the planter, who threatened them, if they dared to place their feet on his grounds. They said "they would not leave until they saw Edmond," who was therefore compelled to leave his bed to satisfy them. The ringleader was named John Buckhart, a student at Columbia College, and who was in

course of training for the ministry. The object of their visit was to inform him of the result of the meeting, namely, that he was to leave the neighbourhood at nine o'clock on the following morning, or take the consequences. Edmond protested against their conduct, commented on their cowardice, and said that he would publish their misdeeds wherever he went. They were so enraged they would gladly have seized him, had there not been an obstacle in their way. They went away, after a time, breathing threatenings and slaughter against him.

The nearest railway-station was twenty-five miles off, and the road to it lay through woods and swamps. There was no alternative, but to make immediate arrangements to depart. He found a friend in one of the planter's sons, who offered to drive him. The hour of midnight was chosen; and after a hasty meal and farewell he was soon seated in the planter's cart. Before starting, all the slaves on the plantation surrounded him and bade him adieu, knowing what he had suffered on their account. The night was dark, the road rough and lonely, and ever and anon the rain fell in large drops. After they had proceeded about eight miles, they came to a part of the road where the woods were very thick. All at once they heard the sound of voices, which gradually became more distinct. In consequence of the heaviness of the road, they were unable to proceed at any great speed so as to avoid any persons who might rush upon them. The driver at once drew his pistol, and would have fired it in the direction of the sounds, but Edmond forbade him. At length a voice was heard exclaiming: "Massa Edmond, stop!" He knew the voice to be that of one of Livingston's slaves. It turned out that the latter, with another slave, had hastened thus far on the road, to warn them that a party of men were in advance, awaiting their approach for the purpose of shooting them. One of these was the owner of one of the slaves, a Mr. Smith, and with him the student Buckhart. They remarked further, that "they had not been in bed since he had been mobbed, and had set some one to watch the house up to the time of Edmond's leaving. On parting they shook him by the hand, saying: "God bless you, Massa; I hope that we shall all meet in heaven." Edmond and his companion had now to return and take a different route, which led them ten miles out of their way. After a dreary ride, they reached the village of Orangeburgh, and proceeded to a tavern to put up their horse, and to obtain a repast. As the train was to start before long, they went to the station to obtain a ticket, and whilst standing at the door, a constable came up to Edmond and tapped him on the shoulder, saying: "Mr. Edmond, I have a warrant to take you up." "A warrant against me,"

he exclaimed in astonishment. "What have I done?" "You are charged," he replied, "with the crime of holding prayer-meetings with slaves, after the hour permitted by law, and with holding meetings without the presence of white persons." It turned out that the persons who had been lying-in-wait for them had hastened onwards, reached Orangeburgh whilst they were at breakfast, and discovered where they were. Edmond was now taken before a magistrate, when the three men appeared to give evidence to substantiate the charge. Fortunately Edmond was known to the magistrate, who asked him "whether the charge was true?" Edmond denied that "he had ever held meetings without the presence of white people," and said "that the service was open to any who might choose to enter. If none but slaves had ever happened to be present, it was not his fault." The magistrate then called upon the accusers to produce their evidence. T. Livingston said that "his father's Dick was a class-leader, and that he (Livingston) used to ask Dick, after he returned from these meetings, if any white people were there, and Dick said 'No.'" The magistrate asked the witness whether he knew that "a slave's word could not be taken as evidence against a white man?" This sufficed to silence Mr. Livingston. J. Buckhart then said that "he and his sister had attended the meetings when there were no white persons present." The magistrate asked him, "whether he and his sister were negroes, and if not, whether they did not constitute white persons?" He added, that "their charge was based on falsehood, and the case was dismissed." Edmond then stated his case to the magistrate, and asked his advice as to what steps he should take. The magistrate said that "the accusing parties might be apprehended for their conduct towards him, but that it would be dangerous to appear in court, as they would murder him the first opportunity. He advised him to get away from the place as soon as possible."

On seeking to leave the court-house, Edmond found a mob gathered round the door ready to pull him to pieces. Failing in their attempt to prove their charge, his relentless pursuers had employed some fellows of the baser sort, to whom they had given a quantity of brandy for the purpose of exciting them to create a disturbance. The magistrate employed the necessary force to guard Edmond to the jail, where he remained for safety all night. On the following morning he effected his escape without being recognised, and finally reached New York, where he obtained an introduction to Messrs. Arthur and Lewis Tappan, who received him with kindness and obtained for him an engagement to plead the cause of the Vigilance Committee.

About two years ago Mr. Edmond visited this country, and during his stay procured a bare subsistence by holding meetings, at which he gave the recital of his sufferings. A few months ago, through the assistance of a few generous persons, he sailed for New York; and we learn by the public papers that he arrived there on the 23d of August last. His intention is to devote himself to the advocacy of the anti-slavery cause.

Original Correspondence.

We have received the following letter from Professor Stowe. It brings, as will be observed, very encouraging intelligence of the growth of anti-slavery sentiment in the Southern States of the American Union, and of the direction which anti-slavery men there are recommending that British anti-slavery effort should take, in addition to keeping up, in unimpaired force, the moral argument against slavery.

"Andover, Massachusetts, U. S. A.,

"Nov. 28th, 1853.

"MY DEAR SIR—I was greatly gratified and encouraged by your note of the 1st inst. and the newspaper attending it. If Great Britain will raise her own cotton in her own provinces, it will not only enable her to give a *clear moral testimony* against the slave system everywhere, but will strike a heavy blow at American slavery, and in its most vital part. Without the British market for cotton, American slavery cannot maintain itself two years. *This is the fact*; and let the good people of Britain look to it.

"India and Africa can furnish you with cotton: it needs only a little outlay of enterprise and capital to begin with, and set the wheels in motion. Africa is all open to you; and in India you need nothing but a few railroads, which can, in the cotton region, be easily constructed, as there are neither mountains to be dug through nor ravines to be filled up, nor expensive lands to be purchased. Let India be used by the British empire for the benefit of the whole empire and of the whole world, instead of being made merely a pasture-ground for fattening the younger sons of a few select families; and in a very few years your manufacturers will be freed from their present degrading dependence upon a foreign slave-breeding clique.

"When I first returned home, last June, every United States' anti-slavery paper, so far as I know, was speaking against the views which I advocated in Exeter Hall. Now, every anti-slavery paper which I read speaks in favour of the same views. Mr. Garrison fully joins in with the present movement, both in his paper and in his private conversation with me. He says, 'Let Britain grow her own cotton if she can; and let all friends of the slave, so far as they can, give the preference to free-grown over slave-grown produce.' This is all we want. So says also the *National Era*, the *A. S. Standard*, *F. Douglass*, &c. &c. The moral argument must still be kept up in all its vigour; but it cannot

have an unobstructed field and exert its full power till this other movement goes with it. It has never ceased to be matter of astonishment to me that I could have been so grossly misunderstood, and assailed with such blind fury. But let it pass. Every thing external and governmental here goes strongly in favour of the slaveholder, and decidedly against every anti-slavery movement. The Annual Message of the President next week will undoubtedly give what is meant for a *terrible blast*; and some of the Judges of the United States courts already rival Jeffreys of London notoriety. But in spite of all this there is a deep under-current of popular conviction and popular indignation preparatory to a severe retaliation by-and-by. 'Isaac Hopper,' 'Solomon North-tip,' and 'Uncle Tom,' are still read by thousands and thousands, both North and South; and 'Uncle Tom' still keeps possession of the theatres in most of our large cities night after night for months together, and is too profitable to be displaced, even in Charleston (S. C.), where he appears in a travestie. There is no stopping him. I send you slips of various newspapers, which will give you some idea of the way in which things are fermenting among us. It is all very hopeful, though far enough from being agreeable.

"Mrs. Stowe is in tolerable health, and very busy preparing her account of her trip to the Old World. The tour has already done great good to the anti-slavery cause, and will do still more. All interested in the support of slavery feel the bite and sting in their very bones and marrow, and their wrath is unbounded. But their time is short. Righteousness will triumph. There is a better feeling growing up among the churches. The Free-will Baptists, a denomination of some 50,000 communicants, claim the same entire freedom as the Quakers from the contamination of slavery. This I did not know when I was in England. If there are any Congregationalists who hold slaves they keep it very secret, except in some merely nominal Congregational churches of the South,* which are served by Presbyterian pastors.

"Truly yours,

"C. E. STOWE.

"L. A. Chamerovzov."

The extracts to which the Professor refers are from various journals, Southern and Northern, and shew that the "nigger question" is *the* question of the day, and takes precedence of every other. One of them says, that "Southern democracy is becoming, indeed *has* become, founded upon the *nigger*. Cuffee and Cudjoe are not only used to raise cotton, but to raise democrats too. *The nigger* does double duty, and becomes a double staple." Another, the *Richmond (Va.) Examiner*, comments in the following language upon the remarks made by the Editor of the *Cincinnati Times* on the sensation which had been created in *Madison* and *Louisville* by the lectures of Lucy Stowe,

* I knew nothing of the existence of those churches when I was in England.

prefacing his article by copying the eulogy he censures :

"When such homage is paid in a Southern city, and by one of the most brilliant leaders of the Southern press, to beldames of the North, and to unclean theories of abolition and licentious growth, the morals as well as the institutions of the South are imperilled in such a manner as to excite alarm. We have no longer to defend a particular feature in our social organization against extraneous attacks; but the door is opened by a Southern hand for all the fanatical delusions and demoralizing reveries, which contaminate Northern society, and are calculated to debase our own, if once welcomed among us."

The *Natchez Mirror*, in noticing that Mrs. Stowe has made from fifty to one hundred thousand dollars out of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, says :

"Mr. Fletcher has written the ablest, most learned and critical defence of slavery which has ever appeared in print, and it will bring the publisher in debt, while the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which has just arrived, is going off rapidly."

The comments of the Editor of another paper, who heads an article on the above fact with the quaint device: "Can't account for it," are not without point in relation to the effect of the slave-system on the productiveness of the land. He observes, speaking of Mr. Fletcher first :

"Here is a man that goes to the ark, and back of that, and rummages the archives of creation, grubbing remorselessly in every nook and corner where tyranny or falsehood had dropped a precedent, to find stuff for his book. The islands of the Pacific, on which the sea-birds have reared up cliffs of guano, are nothing to this feat of deposition."

"We must not, however, slander the sea-birds by leaving it to be supposed that their huge work is on a par with this. Guano is precious. All the land that slave tillage has skinned and exhausted is looking for the advent of guano to give it back its tilth. But this monstrous deposit may be carted all over the exhausted and arid soils of pro-slaveryism without restoring to it one element of humanity or one particle of honesty. It is good for nothing but to be cast under foot of men."

We append another communication, not less interesting, from a correspondent in Holland, where the anti-slavery cause is also progressing.

"The Hague, Dec. 1st, 1853.

"A few lines only to tell you that the anti-slavery cause has made some progress in these latter days; that, through the means of our Society, a great many petitions have been addressed to the king from different parts of Holland; that interesting debates have taken place in our Lower House; and that a Committee was appointed by the king, the day before yesterday, in order to prepare for His Majesty the measures to be taken, of which Commission Mr. Groen

Printserer is a member. I am sure you will rejoice in the matter.

"I have to thank you for the regular sending of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. I should be glad to see some of the tracts announced in the *Reporter* of this month, in order to judge if their translation into Dutch would be of use.

"Yours, &c.,
"E. DE S."

MRS. H. B. STOWE.

The following letter has been received from Mrs. Stowe by the Committee of the *Glasgow Ladies' New Anti-Slavery Society*, and will be read with deep interest by all who are watching the progress of the anti-slavery cause in America, and for the raising up of providential instrumentalities to complete the good work :—

"TO THE LADIES' NEW ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY
OF GLASGOW.

"Andover, Nov. 18, 1853.

"Dear Friends—I have had many things in my mind to say to you, which it was my hope to have said personally, but which I am now obliged to say by letter.

"I have had many fears that you must have thought our intercourse, during the short time that I was in Glasgow, quite unsatisfactory.

"At the time that I accepted your very kind invitation, I was in tolerable health, and supposed that I should be in a situation to enjoy society, and mingle as much in your social circles as you might desire.

"When the time came for me to fulfil my engagement with you, I was, as you know, confined to my bed with a sickness, brought on by the exertion of getting the *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* through the press during the winter.

"The labour of preparing that book, simply as an intellectual investigation, was severe; but what a risk of life and health it was for me no one can appreciate but myself.

"Nothing could have justified me, with my large family of children, in making such an effort, in the state of health in which I then was, except the deep conviction which I had, and I still have, that I was called of God's providence to do it.

"In every part of the world the story of *Uncle Tom* had awakened sympathy for the poor American slave, and consequently, in every part of the world the story of his wrongs had been denied, and it had been asserted that it was a mere work of romance, and I was charged with being the slanderer of the institutions of my own country.

"I knew that if I shrank from supporting my position, the sympathy which the work had excited would gradually die out, and the whole thing would be looked upon as a mere romantic excitement of the passions, without any adequate basis of facts.

"Feeble and reduced as I was, it became absolutely necessary that I should take this opportunity, when the attention of the world was awakened, to prove the charges which I had made.

"Neither could such a work be done slightly,

for every statement was to be thrown before bitter and unscrupulous enemies, who would do their utmost to break the force of every thing which was said. It was therefore necessary that not an assertion should be made without the most rigorous investigation and scrutiny; and, worn as I then was with the subject, with every nerve sensitive and sore, I was obliged to spend three months in what were to me the most agonizing distressing researches.

"The remembrance of that winter is to me one of horror. I could not sleep at night, and I had no comfort in the day-time. All that consoled me was, that I was bearing the same kind of suffering which Christ bore, and still bears, in view of the agonies and distresses of sin in this world.

"When I came to Scotland I felt like one out of whom every drop of blood has been drained. If there had been any other way to do I think I would not have accepted the invitation; but it was absolutely necessary that I should have a change of scene and association, and I did not wish to stay here to read the comments of the press on my labours. I thought I had had suffering enough without that. With this feeling I was taken from my sick-bed on board the ship.

"I had not the slightest idea of the kind of reception which was to meet me in England and Scotland. I had thought of something involving considerable warmth, perhaps, and a good deal of cordiality and feeling on the part of friends; but of the general extent of feeling through society, and of the degree to which it would be publicly expressed, I had, I may say, no conception.

"I could not help feeling painfully while I was with you how utterly unable I was to return any thing in kind adequate to the very warm feeling which was shewn to me. How little I could do, and how little I could say, to meet it!

"I fear that many must have felt disappointed in me, and that my visit must, on the whole, have proved an unsatisfactory one to you. This it was my hope in some measure to repair, by making you another visit in the autumn, when my health should be in a state to enable me to receive and return your kind attentions, and to enjoy more of the pleasures of friendly intercourse.

"This expectation also has, by the providence of God, been disappointed.

"It only remains for me to supply it as well as I possibly can by letter; and I have delayed thus long writing because I wished to observe the state of the anti-slavery cause in this country, and be able to give you some definite report of it.

"As your *Society* were the means of inviting me to your country, it may seem proper, that whatever communications I have to make to friends in England and Scotland should be made through you.

"In the first place, then, the question will probably arise in your minds, Has the recent demonstration in Great Britain done good to the anti-slavery cause in America?

"The first result of these demonstrations, as might have been expected, was an intense re-action. Every kind of false, evil, and malignant report has been circulated by malicious and partisan papers; and if there is any blessing in having all manner of evil said against one falsely, we

have seemed to be in a fair way to come in possession of it.

"So far as this goes, it simply shews that the testimony was felt. In order to know whether it did good or evil to the anti-slavery cause, it was necessary to inquire, not of the enemies, but of the friends. I therefore have taken some pains to inquire among leading minds friendly to the cause as to their general opinion.

"My husband, who has watched the course of affairs critically since his return, and my brother, Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, who has had extensive opportunities for observation, both consider the results as, on the whole, decidedly good. The same opinion was expressed to me with equal decision by the Hon. Charles Sumner, by Cassius M. Clay, of Kentucky, by Frederick Douglass, Lewis Tappan, and by others too numerous to mention.

"I confess this has been a relief and satisfaction to my own mind; for I am naturally disposed to shrink from public demonstrations, and to question any form of advancing the kingdom of God that cometh with observation. The testimony which England and Scotland took advantage of my presence to give has now become a fixed, historical fact, and its effect, I trust, will in due time become historical.

"The sanction which was given in this matter to the voice of the people by the nobility of England and Scotland has been regarded and treated with special rancour; and yet, in its place, it has been particularly important. Without it, great advantages would have been taken to depreciate the value of the national testimony.

"The value of this testimony, in particular, will appear from the fact that the anti-slavery cause has been treated with especial contempt by the leaders of society in this country, and every attempt made to brand it with ridicule.

"The effect of making a cause generally unfashionable is much greater in this world than it ought to be. It operates very powerfully with the young and impressionable portion of the community; therefore, Cassius M. Clay very well said, with regard to the demonstration at Stafford House, 'It will help our cause, by rendering it fashionable.'

"I may say here, that, from my intercourse with some members of the aristocracy, I have been led to feel that it was not a mere fashionable caprice, or the passing emotions of an hour, but a deep and earnest conviction, having its root both in religion and humanity.

"With regard to the present state of the anti-slavery cause in America, I think, for many reasons, that it has never been more encouraging. And it is encouraging, in this respect, that the subject is now fairly up for inquiry before the public mind; and that the systematic effort which has been made for years to prevent its being discussed is proving wholly ineffectual.

"I have the best reasons for knowing, from different regions in the South, that there is a greater amount of reading and inquiry on this subject than has ever been known there for years.

"I could not communicate to you some very interesting facts which have come to my knowledge without running the risk of defeating the

good thus commenced; for it must be ever borne in mind, that any movement towards the reform of this great abuse on Southern ground must at first be a secret one. Some passages, however, which I noticed in the *Liberator* last week I enclose to you, to shew you the class of facts to which I allude:—

“**LUCRETIA MOTT IN KENTUCKY.**—We were deeply interested in reading the account of Mrs. Mott's reception in Kentucky, and of the respectful attention given to her public discourses there, which were upon the reform questions of the day, including a full expression of her views on slavery. The manner in which Mr. and Mrs. Mott are spoken of by the Kentucky writer contrasts strongly with the coarse and vulgar epistles concerning them from various places recently visited by them in New York and Ohio. It is a striking and interesting fact, that slaveholders and neighbours of slaveholders should have so generally accorded to Mrs. Mott a candid hearing, and afterwards expressed themselves concerning her in terms of respect, and almost admiration, when so many Northern letter-writers have united to ridicule and malign her. The motive of these last, however, is obvious. Their sole aim is to please the pro-slavery spirit, South and North, in the hope of receiving some crumbs which might fall from their masters' tables. But these fellows will find that they have “dirtied themselves for nothing.” They cannot prevent intelligent and reflecting people, North or South, from hearing such women as Lucretia Mott, Lucy Stone, and Sallie Holley, whenever an opportunity offers; and the simple seeing and hearing them is to cover their low and brutal revilers with shame and contempt.

“In this connection we may refer, and we do it with pleasure, to the many proofs we are receiving of an awakened feeling on the subject of slavery among slaveholders themselves. Some of these proofs we cannot now refer to publicly, without the hazard of “quenching the smoking flax.” But when we find a Southern (*Natchez*) editor groaning over the fact that the “ablest, most learned, and critical defences of slavery” are not only little read there, but actually “bring the publisher in debt,” while the “*Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin*, which has just arrived [in *Natchez*, observe] is going off rapidly,” we know a mighty change has already been produced in public opinion and sentiment; and even though it be, at present, no more than a willingness to read on the subject, yet that is a great gain, and must inevitably be followed by something more substantial and valuable.

“Within a few days, two gentlemen have called at the *Anti-Slavery Office* here, (*Boston*), both of whom declared themselves slaveholders—one from Louisiana, the other from Virginia. The whole appearance and manner of the former was manly and pleasing. He conversed with us on the subject of slavery nearly two hours. He said that, in the part of Louisiana where he lived there was a strong and growing feeling in favour of some State action by which the condition and treatment of the slaves should be ameliorated. He reprobated with apparent sincerity every cruelty practised towards the slaves, including their sale and the separation of families;

although he was slow to admit the probability of the entire abolition of the system. He did not explain how human beings could be held as property, and yet be exempt from liability to sale and separation. But we thought we saw indications of a spirit in this young man from which much good might be expected. With regard to the other, we had less opportunity to become acquainted with him, but he expressed interest in the anti-slavery discussion now going forward. Both these men had called to see Mr. Garrison, and evidently desired an opportunity of full conversation with him. The world moves. Even the South does not wholly keep back. The moral elements have not been agitated for nothing.—M.’

“The *Key to Uncle Tom's Cabin* has sold extensively at the South, following in the wake of *Uncle Tom*. Not one fact or statement in it has been disproved as yet: I have yet to learn of even an attempt to disprove anything in it. That great numbers of it have been sold and circulated at the South the publisher's accounts must shew: that it was not read there with indifference the nature of the work makes sufficiently evident.

“They are perfectly aware that it is intended to confirm a work with regard to their institutions, which has gone forth into all the countries of the civilized world; and yet they do not answer it, and the only reason is, they feel they cannot!

“The *North-American Review*, a periodical which has never been favourable to the discussion of the slavery question, has come out in the last number with a review of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in which, while rating the work very low as a work of art, they account for its great circulation and success by the fact of its being a true picture of slavery; and go on to say that the system is one so inherently abominable, that unless the South shall rouse themselves and abolish the principle of chattel ownerships, they can no longer sustain themselves under the contempt and indignation of the whole civilized world!

“What is the South to do when this is the best their friends and supporters can say for them?

“As a consequence of the state of feeling awakened in the South, disclosures are, from time to time, being made, which go powerfully to confirm the statements of the book and *Key*. One of these, now in press, is the *Diary of a Physician* who has been for many years in extensive practice on Southern plantations, being himself a slaveholder.

“These indications give me hope that the day is not far off when the South herself will take this matter in hand; and when she does so we may begin to have rest.

“I regret to say that the movements of Christian denominations on this subject are yet greatly behind what they should be.

“Some movements have been made by religious bodies, of which I will speak; but as a general thing the professed Christian church is pushed up to this subject by the world, rather than the world urged on by the church.

“One religious operation, from which I hope

much, is the *American Reform Tract and Book Society*. The original *American Tract Society*, as you are aware, declines to publish any thing distinctively on the subject of slavery.

"This *Reform Society* gives admittance to the subject, and has issued a series of very valuable and efficient tracts, which are circulating with the best possible results.

"It may be gratifying to you to know that this Society has received aid from the *Scottish National Penny Offering*, and that thus, by the assistance of Scottish Christians, the silent appeal of love and reason is being made to many consciences and hearts. By the help of the same offering, I have been enabled to place a thousand copies of *Uncle Tom* and a thousand of the *Key* in the hands of as many home missionaries.

"These men are the most devoted soldiers of the Cross which our country contains. Like the Apostles of old, struggling in necessity, poverty, and self-denial, they are yet unflinching supporters of every good work, that of anti-slavery among the rest. Their extreme poverty renders them unable to purchase books for themselves; but a better investment for the cause could not be made than by lodging anti-slavery documents in their hands: they will be sure to be efficiently used.

"I may mention here, farther, that one thousand dollars of the same fund have been appropriated for the support of Miss Miner's school for coloured females in our national capital. Miss Miner has been for many years a heroic and most indefatigable labourer for the coloured people at Washington. She has been gifted by nature with singular talents for this work, and endowed by God's grace with a courage, zeal, and devotion, such as are given to but few. When her school was yet in its infancy it excited bitter opposition. A man one day called upon her and told her that a mob was organized to destroy her school-room, as they were determined that her school should no longer exist.

"What good will it do to destroy my school-room?" was her reply. "I shall only get another, and go right on." "But," said he, "we will frighten your scholars so that they will not dare to come to you." "No, you will not," said she, "Wherever I dare to go to teach, they will dare to come to learn." Then, fixing her eyes very decidedly on the man, she added, "You may tell your associates that destroying any number of school-houses will not stop my school; you cannot stop it, unless you take my life." The man retired, and the school-room remained unmolested. This school has exerted a great influence on the minds of many slaveholders, who, on visiting it, have been struck with the capabilities, under education, of the very people whom they hold in slavery. A more particular account of Miss Miner's school will ere long appear in Frederick Douglass' paper, which I commend to your notice and attention.

"The coloured people in this country are rapidly rising in every respect. I shall request Frederick Douglass to send you the printed account of the recent *Coloured Convention*: it would do credit to any set of men whatever, and I hope you will get some notice taken of it in the papers of your United Kingdoms. It is time that the slanders against this unhappy race should be re-

futed; and it should be seen how, in spite of every social and political oppression, they are rising in the scale of humanity. In my opinion they advance quite as fast, taking all their disadvantages into account, as any of the foreign races which have found an asylum among us.

"While my husband and myself were in England our attention was turned very seriously towards the subject of encouraging, so far as possible, *free-labour produce* in preference to the produce of slave-labour. We had not before attended to the subject, but it struck us very favourably as suggesting an opening which might, through Divine Providence, be improved to yet wider results.

"It is generally conceded that God has so made the world, that right-doing is, in the long run, always more conducive to profit than wrong-doing. Slave-labour is as wasteful and unprofitable, compared with free-labour, as it is immoral. In every branch of labour, where the two come fairly into competition, the free-labour invariably runs out the slave-labour. Thus it happens that the shoes, the blankets, the tubs, the pails, the axes, and innumerable other necessary articles on Southern plantations, are made by Northern free labour, simply because, being free, it can do the thing better and cheaper than it can be done under the operation of slavery. The immense price of slaves now renders the stocking of a plantation with slave-labour a most exorbitant outlay. At the same time, through the immigration of the Chinese on to our Western shores, a very cheap and industrious free-labour population is being introduced into our country. Coincidentally with this, it is being discovered that cotton of prime quality can be raised in Liberia, in Australia, in the British provinces in India. In all these countries it can be raised as the result of free-labour. In our Southern States there are many small planters who, either from poverty or principle, cultivate cotton entirely through free-labour. An association exists in this country, of some standing, which receives this cotton, and a large amount of raw material is thus produced by free-labour. Movements are now being made to organize manufacturing companies to work this up into the various forms necessary for domestic consumption.

"Does not this combination of circumstances present the subject of free-labour to the Christian philanthropist in a most interesting point of view?

"If a certain number of planters at the South are laboriously endeavouring to produce cotton by free-labour, should not the Christian community encourage them, by giving a preference to what is thus produced over what is grown by slave-labour?

"If the subject of free-labour is presenting itself already to planters who are thinking of stocking plantations, will it not much more present itself should they see that a general demand is rising in the Christian world for free instead of slave-produce?

"That such thoughts are presenting themselves to the minds of slaveholders will be made evident from such facts as these, which begin to appear in our public prints:

"SLAVE-LABOUR v. WHITE-LABOUR.—We

yesterday conversed with a Southern planter from the northern part of Georgia, who has come on here to engage men to work on his plantation. He has commenced harvesting, and requires additional help; but the enhanced value of slaves since the abolition agitation places it beyond his ability to purchase a larger supply, and white labour can be employed more economically than that of hired slaves.—*New-York Journal of Commerce*.

"We learn, on the authority of the *New-York Tribune*, 'that the farm of Cassius M. Clay, who emancipated his slaves some eight years ago, is now yielding him handsome returns, whereas before it used to run him constantly in debt. He has no difficulty in procuring white men as labourers, though he hires a portion of his old slaves. He cuts more hay, has better pasturage, and raises more and better stock than formerly, and his experiment, which was made under the most embarrassing circumstances, has proved, in every way, eminently successful.'

"I cannot leave this branch of the subject without relating to you one incident.

"On board the ship, when I came over from England, was a professed slave-trader, and a thoughtless, gay young man, who is a large slaveholder. The trader apparently gloried in his shame, and seemed to take delight in relating, within hearing of my brother, scenes in which he had hunted down negroes with dogs, and otherwise practised upon them the horrors of his trade. The young slaveholder declared some of these things 'really too bad.' 'The fact is,' said the young man, 'this slavery is a bad thing, and it is bound to come to an end.' 'It never will come to an end,' said the trader, 'so long as grass grows, or water runs: it never will come to an end,' he added, hesitating, 'unless they get something that will do in the place of cotton. So long as all the world must have cotton, so long they will have slaves!'

"Now, if we consider that there are immense tracts of cotton-growing land in America not yet taken up, and it is yet to be decided whether this land shall be appropriated to slave or free-labour, does not this shew a reason why a general movement should be made on the part of Christians to patronise free-labour produce?

"The last encouraging symptom which I will mention in relation to our cause is the progress of the temperance movement. This gives me as much hope as any one thing.

"The great fear that I had was, that the insidious influence of slavery had destroyed the moral tone of the country, so that there was no longer energy, enterprise, or courage, to come up to a great and self-denying work. But when we see that the State of Maine has enterprise and courage as a State, to rise up and pass laws excluding intoxicating drinks from her borders; when we see the majority of the population, some of them at great pecuniary sacrifice, united in supporting and enforcing this law, and, in consequence of it, the prisons being emptied, the dockets of court almost clear of cases of crime, pauperism becoming a thing unknown, we cannot but feel encouraged that there is yet a restoring force in our country. It has now become a moral certainty that Maine will never recede from this law; and, as long as

she holds to it, her example will tell on every part of the Union, and there will be a great moral conflict in every State until it extends over our whole Union.

"It is a remarkable fact, that wherever the Maine-law conflict arises, a just anti-slavery sentiment generally goes with it. The two reforms appear to be twin brothers, and the support of the one very naturally leads to the support of the other.

"When a man's principles of right have been so strengthened that he will give up a lucrative business from conscientious considerations, he necessarily gains in moral force; and the same principles which he has applied to the rum traffic apply also to the traffic in slaves.

"When the temperance reform has awakened the courage, energy, and virtuous feeling of the community, the evil of slavery is more likely to be seen and felt. They find that the same arguments apply to the slave traffic and to the rum traffic; that they have the same class of opposers and the same class of defenders, and I trust it will prove but a step from the one to the other.

"It would much assist our cause if all the friends of anti-slavery in Great Britain would earnestly and prayerfully consider the claims of the temperance cause.

"According to the observations which we made among you, nothing but intemperance now stands in the way of your lower classes being as happy and as well off in every respect as any in the world. Could you once see the results which have been exhibited in the State of Maine, where the temptation to intoxicating drinks has been entirely banished, you could never doubt this.

"We are grieved to learn that some of our anti-slavery friends in England look with coolness upon the temperance cause, and even utter unfriendly sentiments with regard to it. Nothing could be a greater grief to the friends of the slave in this country, because it exceedingly lessens the moral force of their testimony against slavery.

"Excuse the freedom of these remarks, made in all Christian earnestness and affection.

"May God so guide us in all things that our good be not evil spoken of, and that we be left to defend nothing which is opposed to his glory and the good of man.

"It remains that I close this too long epistle by presenting once more my affectionate thanks to those many dear friends in Glasgow whose kindness made my visit there so delightful.

"The contents of this letter are designed equally for the Anti-slavery Societies of Scotland and England. I transmit them through your Society, because through you I received that invitation which led me to make the pleasing acquaintance of so many friends.

"You will communicate my letter to them in such a way as you deem expedient.—Very affectionately yours,
H. B. STOWE.

"I am very happy to add that the elections which have occurred within a few days in the great States of Massachusetts and New York have returned legislatures decidedly favourable to the Maine law, and that in New York a decided majority is thus gained for Mr. Seward, the anti-slavery senator to the United States Congress."

THE REV. MR. PRIME.

IN the May 1853 number of the *Reporter* we adverted to the expected arrival in this country of the Rev. Mr. Prime, a delegate from the *American Bible Society* to the *British and Foreign Bible Society*. In the July number we again referred to him in an article entitled *The Silent Men*. Our readers will doubtless remember the circumstances which led to our giving this gentleman so much prominence. We perceive that in his own country his known pro-slavery sentiments have brought him into disrepute with some of his countrymen, probably with those whose good opinion he may have been most solicitous to retain. It will be seen, by the subjoined preamble and resolutions, adopted by the *Adams County (Ohio) Bible Society* at a meeting which appears to have been held shortly after his departure, that the Reverend Editor of the *New-York Observer* was not regarded by that Society as a fit representative of the Bible cause in foreign lands. His rejection by the Committee of the *British and Foreign Bible Society* was a happy endorsement of the sentiments embodied in the resolutions of the Adams County Society. They were as follows:

"Whereas the Managers of the *American Bible Society* have sent the Editor of the *New-York Observer* to represent the Bible cause of this country on the platform of the *British and Foreign Bible Society*; and whereas the said editor is well known to be extremely pro-slavery; and whereas American slavery, which he favours, disregards the universally conceded truth that the Bible is designed for man, and for the redemption of all men; and whereas the Managers hose this editor, with his known views upon this subject, and thereby gave room for men to suspect their sincerity in the Bible cause, therefore,

"Resolved, That we seriously disapprove of the conduct of these Managers in sending this man; and would respectfully ask that there be not a recurrence of this kind in future.

"Resolved, That a copy of this preamble and resolutions be forwarded to the Editors of the *National Era*, *New-York Evangelist*, and the *Christian Press*, for publication, and one also to the Managers of the Society."

We may remark, in relation to the unwarrantable and unmanly attack made on Mrs. Stowe and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, in the columns of the *Journal* of which the Rev. Mr. Prime is editor, that neither he nor the junior editor had read a line of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* when their unmerited strictures upon this admirable production were penned. We have this fact on substantial authority.

Miscellanea.

THE COLOUR OF VIRGINIA "NIGGERS."—Two mulatto brothers recently made application to one of the courts at Richmond, Va., asserting that they had so far removed from their original bloods as to entitle them to the benefit of an Act of Assembly, which declares that persons with

less than one-fourth negro blood shall be considered white persons; and under this plea they claimed the privilege of going abroad without registers. The court, after hearing arguments on both sides, refused the application. *The Richmond Enquirer* endorses this decision, and remarks: "The law and circumstances under which this application was made would free about one-fourth of the slaves of the Commonwealth, and lead to interminable difficulties on the subject. One-tenth negro blood would be little enough to place a negro on the footing of a white person." What a precious confession have we here—that one-fourth of the Virginia slaves have three parts of white blood to one of black!—a confession in substance that the slaveholders oppress and sell their own flesh and blood. And yet clergymen are found, claiming to be called by God to teach mankind the way to heaven, who justify the iniquity, and even labour to prove from holy writ that it has the sanction of the Almighty!—*Rockingham Messenger*.

SOUTHERN LEGISLATION ON SLAVERY.—The people of Alabama are vigorously agitating in favour of a law exempting slaves from execution of debt. The object of the law is to enable every man to own and keep one or more slaves, and thereby fortify and strengthen the Institution, giving the poorer classes an interest in its eternal perpetuity. The tendency at present is, to accumulate vast numbers of slaves on a few large plantations, leaving the mass of the whites non-slaveholders. It is thought the proposed law will do something to distribute that description of "property" among a larger number of owners.

SUIT OF A COLOURED MAN AT THE SOUTH FOR HIS FREEDOM.—*The Wilmington (N.C.) Herald* mentions an interesting case which has just been decided in that county. A coloured man, George Allen, brought a suit against Elkanah Allen (white) for trespass *vi et armis*, in that he had illegally deprived said George of his liberty. The principal evidence relied on by the plaintiff was the record of emancipation, made in 1808 by the grandfather of the present defendant in favour of the grandmother of the plaintiff, in the Quarter Sessions for the County of Brunswick. It was objected on the part of the defendant, that the act of emancipation was not valid, for the reason that there was no evidence to satisfy the Court that the bond given by Elkanah Allen, the grandfather of defendant, was executed by him, and that therefore the act of emancipation was not perfect, but void. It was contended by plaintiff's counsel that the bond formed no part of the record, and if the master filed the petition to the Court, praying permission to emancipate his slave, and that the prayer was granted, the slave stood *ipso facto* free (1st Dev. and Bat. Bryan vs. Wadsworth), and that the act of Assembly required the bond to be filed under certain penalties, but did not make the liberation of the slave to depend upon that act. The fiat of the Court upon hearing the petition liberated the slave, if favourable to the master's wishes. On this statement the case was submitted to the Jury, who, after half an hour's deliberation, brought in a verdict for the plaintiff. The case is said to have been argued with great ability *pro* and *con*. For the plaintiff, Messrs. J. G. Wright and Adam Empie, Jr., Esqs.; for defendant, Hon. Robert Strangé and T. C. Miller, Esq.

The Anti-Slavery Reporter, MONDAY, JANUARY 2d, 1854.

OUR NEW NUMBER.

THE first number of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* for the year 1854 is issued under very encouraging circumstances. We have, in the first place, to return thanks to our friends for the efforts they have made to increase the circulation of our periodical, and which have been so far successful as to enable us to announce that we commence our new number with an augmented list of regular Subscribers. This is a satisfactory indication that the desire of procuring anti-slavery information has not diminished, and that our exertions to supply the best we could command are appreciated. It shall be our aim to deserve an increased amount of support from our friends, who will, we trust, take advantage of every opportunity that presents to widen our sphere of usefulness, by introducing the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* into domestic circles. We would also suggest that it should be recommended to *Literary Institutions* and to public *Reading-rooms*, especially those that have been established for artisans. We believe that a little exertion in this direction would result in an accession of at least a hundred new Annual Subscribers of a class at present very indifferently informed, if at all, on this important subject.

We intended to introduce an article in the present number, entitled, *Our Cotton Fields*, founded on facts, some of which have been supplied to us by a much-esteemed correspondent. We are, however, unavoidably compelled to postpone its publication until next month, as also another entitled *Sugar and Slavery*; each of them the result of lengthened and laborious investigation. Press of matter likewise obliges us reluctantly to allow to stand over our list of Reviews.

We take this opportunity of respectfully intimating to Authors and Publishers of works bearing upon the anti-slavery question, that the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* is a valuable medium of advertising, and that we shall feel obliged by communications relating to such publications, as also for copies of the same for review. Works on the other side of the question will also be thankfully received.

We make it a special request, that old and new Subscribers will, on renewing or taking up their Subscriptions, be kind enough to furnish us with their names and addresses *in full*, in order to avoid—as far as possible—any irregularities in the delivery of their copies.

In reply to several communications, we beg leave respectfully to state, that Subscriptions to the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, (Four Shillings per annum stamped, Three Shillings unstamped,) and to the *Anti-Slavery Society*, fall due on the First of January, and should be paid in

advance, either by *Post-Office Order* or in *Postage-stamps*; the former made payable to *Mr. Peter Jones Bolton, 27, New Broad Street, London.*

The Editor respectfully solicits communications.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

OUR last American files bring us President Pierce's first Annual Message. In our number for April 1853, we gave extracts from his inaugural Address, on which we ventured to make a few comments. We propose to observe the same course on the present occasion.

It may, however, in the first place, interest our readers to learn something of President Pierce's political antecedents with relation to the question of slavery. We therefore give them, as they are presented in the able report of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, to which we have adverted in another column:

"On February 2, 1833, he voted in favour of Mr. Chinn's resolution (in opposition to J. Q. Adams) to lay the abolition petitions on the table. He voted in the same manner on a similar motion, December 16, 1835. Two days afterwards he did the same, and preceded his vote by an advocacy of that course. The same question drew from him the same vote, Dec. 21st. Feb. 8, 1836, he voted for Mr. Patton's motion to reconsider the vote referring a petition, and on the 16th he denounced the anti-slavery petitions and the anti-slavery movement. Feb. 23, he voted against a motion of Mr. Adams to refer to the Select Committee on the subject a petition to abolish slavery in the federal district. May 18, 1836, he voted for the gag of Mr. Pinckney, having been a member of the Committee that reported it, and having advocated it before the House. On Jan. 18, 1837, he voted for the gag of Mr. Hawes. On the 11th of Feb. 1837, he voted for the resolution that slaves do not possess the right of petition secured to the people of the United States by the Constitution.

"In 1837, Mr. Pierce entered the Senate. On Dec. 18, 1837, he was in favour of nominally *receiving an* anti-slavery petition (it having become odious to do otherwise), and of then laying it on the table. Dec. 7, he supported the resolutions of John C. Calhoun on the subject, with incidental exceptions. Jan. 3, 1838, he voted against receiving petitions against the annexation of Texas. The next day he voted against printing the resolutions of the legislature of Vermont on that subject. Feb. 6, 1838, he co-operated with Mr. Calhoun in applying the gag to Mr. Morris, of Ohio.

"With his public course in the House and the Senate the speeches and letters of Mr. Pierce on other occasions correspond. He earnestly opposed, in New Hampshire, his old political friend, John P. Hale. On a public occasion he avowed his approbation of the compromise measures; and, in a letter to Major Lalley, May 27, just before the Nominating Whig Convention, 1852, shewn by him to members of the Convention, he

distinctly advocated the *Fugitive Slave Law*. And like his competitor, General Scott, he accepted the nomination of his party, approving its 'Platform.'

"The inaugural of President Pierce, March 4, 1853, afforded him an opportunity to express his position, which he did in the following terms:

"I believe that involuntary servitude, as it exists in different States in this confederacy, is recognised by the constitution. I believe that it stands like any other admitted right, and that the States where it exists are entitled to efficient remedies to enforce the constitutional provisions. I hold that the laws of 1850, commonly called the 'Compromise Measures,' are strictly constitutional, and to be unhesitatingly carried into effect, &c.

"This harmonises with his course in both Houses of Congress, and with his acceptance of the Baltimore platform. How well it agrees with the dictates of his own conscience will appear from the following:—On the 2d day of January 1852, in a speech at Boston Center, N.H., he had said that the 'Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 differed in no important particular from that of 1793.' In answer to inquiries publicly propounded to him, he admitted that the act was not consistent with common law; that it was 'opposed to moral right as well as to humanity;' that 'slavery is contrary to the constitution in some respects.' He said also, 'I have been asked if I liked this Fugitive Slave Law. I answered, No, I loathed it! I have a most revolting feeling of the giving up of a slave; the law is opposed to humanity.' When further pressed, he said, 'Yes, it is opposed to moral right. But our fathers made the compact, and we must fulfil it. I say nothing of the humanity of it, nothing of the right of it.'"

The "Platform" alluded to above, as having been accepted by General F. Pierce, means simply the declaration of the principles of the party which returned him, and to which he gave his adhesion previously to being put into nomination for the Presidency. This "Platform" was as follows:

"That Congress has no power, under the constitution, to interfere with or control the domestic institutions of the several States, and that such States are the sole and proper judges of every thing appertaining to their own affairs, not prohibited by the constitution; that all efforts of the Abolitionists or others to induce Congress to interfere with questions of slavery, or to take incipient steps in relation thereto, are calculated to lead to the most alarming and dangerous consequences; and that all such efforts have an inevitable tendency to diminish the happiness of the people, and endanger the stability and permanency of the Union; and ought not to be countenanced by any friend of our political institutions.

"Resolved—That the foregoing proposition covers and was intended to embrace the whole subject of slavery agitation in Congress; and therefore the democratic party of the Union, standing on this national platform, will abide by and adhere to a faithful execution of the acts, known as the compromise measures, settled by the last Congress—the Act for reclaiming fugi-

tives from service and labour included; which Act, being designed to carry out an express provision of the Constitution, cannot, with fidelity, be repealed, or so changed as to destroy or impair its efficiency.

"Resolved—That the democratic party will resist all attempts at renewing, in Congress or out of it, the agitation of the slavery question, under whatever shape or colour the attempt may be made."

It will be gathered from this enunciation of principles, that Franklin Pierce went to the poll definitely pledged to a finality doctrine with respect to the great question of slavery, and the compromise measures that have arisen out of it, including, of course, the atrociously wicked Fugitive Slave-Law: it is therefore not surprising that he should "speak big words" in support of the vile system and its thousand and one reeking abominations.

As anti-slavery advocates, we have to do, in these columns, chiefly with those portions of his Annual Message, or other public statements that bear directly upon the great issues which are at once the test of transatlantic politicians and the corner-stone of transatlantic politics. In his present Message he appears to dwell with evident relish on the points most likely to produce a telling effect on his partisans. Take the following to wit:

"For several years Spain has been calling the attention of this government to a claim for losses by some of her subjects in the case of the schooner *Amistad*. This claim is believed to rest on the obligations imposed by our existing treaty with that country. Its justice was admitted in our diplomatic correspondence with the Spanish Government as early as March 1847; and one of my predecessors, in his Annual Message of that year, recommended that provision should be made for its payment. In January last it was again submitted to Congress by the Executive. It has received a favourable consideration by Committees of both branches, but as yet there has been no final action upon it. I conceive that good faith requires its prompt adjustment, and I present it to your early and favourable consideration."

Now President Pierce here recommends to the favourable consideration of Congress a case which has over and over again received the condemnation of the principal statesmen and jurists of America. The facts of the case are briefly these, as given by the Hon. Joshua R. Giddings in his speech to Congress:—

"In 1839 a number of slaves were imported from Africa to the island of Cuba, in violation of the laws of Spain, and contrary to her treaty stipulations. When they reached Havannah, they were imprisoned in the barracoons until a sale was made of fifty-two of their number to two Spanish slave-dealers, named *Montez* and *Ruiz*, who appear to have purchased them of the importer in order to carry them to *Principe*, on

the South end of the island. For this purpose they obtained from the governor licences to transport fifty-two *ladinos*, or legal slaves, to that place. It should be borne in mind, that these passports were granted on the application of the slave-dealers, the people to be thus transported being in the barracoons, shut out from all intercourse with any human being who sympathized with them, or who was disposed to aid them to regain their liberty. Under these circumstances, the negroes were shipped on board the *Amistad*, as other property was shipped, and the vessel took her departure for *Principe* on the 26th June 1839; but, after being five days at sea, they rose upon those who held them in durance and asserted their right to liberty. In the struggle the captain and cook were slain, and the other persons, forming the crew and passengers, surrendered, and the negroes thus became masters of the vessel. They, however, appear to have been actuated by no other motive than a love of liberty. They shed no more blood than was necessary to obtain their freedom. They placed two of the sailors belonging to the ship on board a boat, in order that they might reach the shore. They detained *Montez* and *Ruiz* on board to navigate the ship, and directed them to steer for Africa. These men, being unwilling to go to Africa, ran the vessel for New England, and in August reached the eastern end of Long Island. A portion of the crew went on shore to obtain water and provisions. While they were on shore for that purpose, Lieutenant Gedney, of the navy, took charge of the ship and of the persons on board, claiming vessel and people as *derelict property*. Some of the inhabitants also arrested the negroes on shore, and claiming them to be *property*, insisted on their right to salvage, as though they had been so many boxes of dry goods. *Montez* and *Ruiz* claimed to be owners of the ship and cargo, and of the people on board. The negroes claimed that they were free under the laws of nature, of nations, and of Spain. They denied that they had ever been slaves under the laws of Cuba or any other government. The case was managed by able counsel, and, after the most mature deliberation, the Court decided them to be free; and they were therefore permitted to enjoy their liberty."

But the matter did not rest, for four years after, the Spanish Government asserted a claim for seventy thousand dollars to reimburse the two slaveholders alluded to above for their loss in human flesh. The request was set aside, but has since, from time to time, been brought forward again, formally and informally, the indemnity being on these occasions set at fifty thousand dollars. The avowed opposition, however, of the free democratic senators seems always to have defeated the object of the slaveholding members in mooted the question, one or more of whom, *influenced by the recommendation of the President of the United States*, attempts every session of Congress to get a bill of indemnity passed in favour of the Spaniards.

Under these circumstances it is that President Pierce drags this matter forward, and

even recommends it to the *favourable* consideration of Congress.

A little further on he says, adverting to the state of domestic affairs:

The controversies, which have agitated the country heretofore, are passing away with the causes which produced them and the passions which they had awakened; or, if any trace of them remains, it may be reasonably hoped that it will only be perceived in the zealous rivalry of all good citizens to testify their respect for the rights of the States, their devotion to the Union, and their common determination that each one of the States, its institutions, its welfare, and its domestic peace, shall be held alike secure under the sacred ægis of the Constitution."

A bold statement this, and far removed from the truth. The fiercest controversies that have ever been waged in the United States; the rudest passions that have ever been awakened; and the widest-spread agitation that has ever disturbed the country, have owed their origin to slavery, and to the passing of the compromise measures intended to perpetuate it as an institution of the country. So long as the system exists will it prove a similar source of agitation and excitement; and it is not assuming too much to say that neither President Pierce nor his constituents can possibly be the dupes of this shallow artifice of language, and empty rhetorical flourish, invented for the occasion, and for the sole purpose of conciliating Southern partisans.

Of a like character is the following, pointed directly at the same question:

"It is no part of my purpose to give prominence to any subject, which may properly be regarded as set at rest by the deliberate judgment of the people. * * * * * When the grave shall have closed over all, who are now endeavouring to meet the obligations of duty, the year 1850 will be recurred to as a period filled with anxious apprehension. A successful war had just terminated. Peace brought with it a vast augmentation of territory. Disturbing questions arose, bearing upon the domestic institutions of one portion of the confederacy, and involving the constitutional rights of the States. But, notwithstanding differences of opinion and sentiment, which then existed in relation to details and specific provisions, the acquiescence of distinguished citizens, whose devotion to the Union can never be doubted, has given renewed vigour to our institutions, and restored a sense of repose and security to the public mind throughout the confederacy. That this repose is to suffer no shock during my official term, if I have power to avert it, those who placed me here may be assured."

We do not hesitate to declare that assertion to be based on a fallacy, which sets forth that the question of slavery or no slavery has been finally solved by the Fugitive Slave Law. President Pierce may, indeed, to meet the views of those to whom he is indebted for his present position, dexterously evade the dangerous question by professing a belief

that it has been settled; but *Wilkesbarre* atrocities, slave-hunts, slave-rescues, increasing escapes of slaves, prosecutions for harbouring runaways, and, above all, the continued agitation of Abolition on every political platform, must prove incontestably to every one, that the question has been not only not set at rest, but is growing, and is likely to grow, in political importance, until it is indeed settled by the emancipation of the enslaved.

Commenting still upon the same subject, the President continues, reverting to the past, and remarking that the "reserved powers of the States" used formerly to be "scrupulously respected":

"No statesman put forth the narrow views of casuists to justify interference and agitation, but the spirit of compact was regarded as sacred in the eye of honour, and indispensable for the great experiment of civil liberty, which, environed with inherent difficulties, was yet borne forward in apparent weakness by a power superior to all obstacles. There is no condemnation which the voice of Freedom will not pronounce upon us should we prove faithless to this great trust. While men inhabiting different parts of this great continent can no more be expected to hold the same opinions, or entertain the same sentiments, than every variety of climate or soil can be expected to furnish the same agricultural products, they can unite in a common object, and sustain common principles essential to the maintenance of that object. The gallant men of the South and the North could stand together during the struggle of the Revolution; they could stand together in the more trying period which succeeded the clangor of arms. As their united valour was adequate to all the trials of the camp and dangers of the field, so their united wisdom proved equal to the greater task of founding, upon a deep and broad basis, institutions, which it has been our privilege to enjoy, and will ever be our most sacred duty to sustain. It is but the feeble expression of a faith strong and universal, to say that their sons, whose blood mingled so often upon the same field, during the war of 1812, and who have more recently borne in triumph the flag of the country upon a foreign soil, will never permit alienation of feeling to weaken the power of their united efforts, nor internal dissensions to paralyze the great arm of freedom, uplifted for the vindication of self-government."

The *Times* of the 21st ultimo comments in so able and forcible a manner upon the above paragraph, that we cannot better conclude our own observations than by transcribing the latter portions of the article, though we cannot give to even them our unqualified assent, for we have our own standard of what constitutes "statesmanship." We introduce these extracts, however, with the more readiness, that the *Times* has hitherto exhibited a strange perversity of sentiment on this important question, but appears to be gradually coming round to sounder views. It says:

"We freely acknowledge that in these remarks

General Pierce has spoken like a statesman, and that his advice is, undoubtedly, directed towards the maintenance of that union which constitutes American strength. But, at the same time, we must take leave to remark, that his authority and his monitions are thrown almost exclusively into one scale of a still trembling balance, and that in describing the contest as a thing of the past he is venturing upon an assumption which, however desirable it may be in itself, is certainly unwarranted by facts. It is beyond question, as we have repeatedly admitted, both that the Fugitive Slave Law is the law of America, and that this law was based upon direct provisions of the original constitution. When a slaveholder reclaims his runaway, and when the United States Marshal assists him in effecting the capture, both the one and the other are acting as the law allows, nor do we think that any judge on the American bench could maintain a decision to the contrary. But what the *Freesoilers* say is, that this *ought not* to be the law, and that the enactment should be forthwith abolished. When encountered with the fundamental ordinances of the Constitution and the incontestable claims of the slaveholding States, they reply that there are axioms of humanity above all laws like these, that no decrees of man can make slavery lawful, and that the right to resist a written code in obedience to the dictates of nature and reason is precisely that right upon which the whole existence of the American Union was originally based. 'We hold,' says the famous Declaration of Independence, 'these truths to be self-evident—that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their CREATOR with certain inalienable rights, and that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.' Can the *Freesoilers* need any better warrant for their assertions? Are these the arguments of 'narrow casuists'?

"Nor is it correct, or even judicious, to assume that the arrangements of 1850 terminated this terrible struggle, for it must be within the knowledge of every American reader that some of the most alarming disturbances have happened since that time, and that they occur, indeed, at almost every instance of the application of the law. This law, in reality, did little more than declare as statutably binding upon Americans what all Americans must have felt to be binding before. Whatever the wish might be, we do not think that any intelligent citizen could have misapprehended the truth; but the publication of this truth in the shape of a law left untouched the conflict of feelings by which it was regarded; nor can it be reasonably expected that the abominators of slavery will cheerfully become art and part in enforcing its rules because a certain interpretation has been definitely put on a certain constitutional provision. We are quite aware of the fearful character of the alternative. If the *Freesoilers* insist on the promptings of their consciences in opposition to the legal claims of the slave-holders, either the Union must be dissolved or the Southern States subjugated by force to the opinions of the Northern. Nevertheless, we do think that this prospect might be exhibited *in terrorem* to the slave-holders themselves with quite as much justice as to the Abolitionists. If one side is told that the destruction of the political

fabric must be the consequence of their obeying the dictates of nature, the other side might surely be reminded that the same disaster was threatened by their violation of nature's laws. If the South has the law, the North has the reason, and, when one is asked to stifle its conscience, the other might be asked to reconsider its 'property' in man. We have been told once or twice that the true course was to leave these 'institutions' to that gradual extinction which time must ultimately ensure, but we do not observe that General Pierce directs his exhortations towards the hastening of this end. The warnings of his wisdom appear addressed exclusively to the Abolitionists, and the implied surrender of personal feelings is to come from them alone. The Free-soilers, however, are strong in the inherent power of their cause, in the march of opinion, and in the increasing number of their majority; and though we must needs concur in the hopes of the President that no internal dissension may ever be permitted to destroy such a fabric as that of the American Union, we cannot pretend to take part against their demands."

WEST-INDIA INTELLIGENCE: SUMMARY.

JAMAICA.—Since our last summary, Governor Barkly has arrived in Jamaica, and been received with acclamation. The Assembly was opened by him with a conciliatory speech, which seems to have been well received by all parties. The reply of the Assembly is remarkable for its cautious style of expression. The Governor assured the Assembly of his sympathy, and of that of the British people. The Assembly thanked him for the assurance, and congratulated him upon his appointment as Governor to their once wealthy colony. He abstained from expressing an opinion upon the merits of past controversies, which had divided the Council and the Assembly: they, in a similar spirit, refrained from more than a passing allusion to the same exciting topic. He admitted the necessity of retrenchment, but suggested that it should be such as not to press with undue severity upon individual rights and interests. They remarked that they had no desire to effect any reduction which the actual emergency did not render necessary, or which, under the circumstances, could be fairly considered to be at variance with good faith. The Governor intimated a belief that the conflicting views of the Council and Assembly were not irreconcilable, stating that the loan of 50,000*l.* was calculated to assist greatly in effecting a truce between the parties. The Assembly forbore pledging themselves to an acceptance of the loan, on account of the financial embarrassments under which the island laboured, and from a reluctance to increase so overwhelming a load of debt. The Governor promised pecuniary aid on a liberal scale under conditions: the Assembly would rejoice if "the

terms on which this relief is to be afforded prove of such a nature as to justify them in accepting it with benefit to the Colony, and with a due regard to the constitutional liberties of the people. The Assembly agreed with the Governor that the Jamaica constitution is capable of improvement, as are human institutions in general, but repudiated the notion that it is pre-eminently vicious. The remaining topics touched upon were, the new form of government recommended, the civil list, and taxation. As to the first, the Assembly doubted whether a system adapted to the advanced state of Great Britain would accord with the condition of Jamaica, but they promised to give the subject consideration. They also promised to grant the supplies, which, however, they said would have to be restricted to the most moderate bounds.

It is gratifying to find that the result of the debate in the House of Assembly on the Import Bill, has shewn that the prejudices of party can be overcome when the public interest is at stake; the bill having passed without the appropriation clause.

By a return laid before the Council it appears that the loss of duties by the expiration of the former Import-Duty Acts is no less than 125,728*l.* 2*s.* 10*d.* It may therefore be said that the island has actually lost this sum by the stoppage of the supplies.

The barque *Clarendon* arrived on the 28th October with 170 immigrants from Madeira.

We clip the following lamentable statement from the *Trelawny* of the 31st October, expressing our deep regret that human life should be thus tampered with. A sad fatality seems to attend the poor Coolies, after having served three long years of compulsory service:

"Letters have been received here from passengers in the ship *Glenanner*, stating that that vessel had spoken the barque *William Jardine*, from Jamaica to Calcutta, with a cargo of return Coolies, and that she had reported that no less than eighty Coolies had died on the passage from cholera and diarrhoea. It is said that the Central Board of Health informed Sir Charles Grey, when the latter-named vessel was in the port of Kingston, that she was ballasted with a highly pernicious matter called *Demerara mud*, and unless that deleterious stuff was removed, and proper and safe ballast put in its stead, it would be unreasonable to expect that the passage could be made without extensive and serious mortality; but that Sir Charles excused himself from interfering in the matter, on the ground that it would be very expensive to the owner of the vessel to change the ballast."

BRITISH GUIANA.—The only item of intelligence from this Colony refers to the prospects of the sugar crop. The general impression is that it cannot rival that of 1852. "The yield of the canes, however," observes

the *Royal Gazette* "is still greatly a-head of former years, and the planters cannot now be twitted with the fact that they do not ship a hogshead for every acre in cultivation." The average over the colony, at a low computation, is said to be a hogshead and three quarters; equal to a ton and a half of sugar.

The *Royal Gazette* of the 8th of November gives the following item:

"Paramaribo, 21st October 1853.

"In the transport *Mervele*, arrived, in the course of the present week, an importation of Chinese, intended for an experiment in the government plantation *Catharina Sophia*, with regard to the manufacture of sugar. Of the eighteen, four died on the passage, it is said for the want of opium. One arrived sick, and has been sent to the military hospital. The others have been forwarded to the place of their destination."

TRINIDAD. — In our last summary we gave the heads of Lord Harris' proposed Trinidad scheme, designed with the object of meeting the large deficit in the island expenditure. The estimates for the year 1854 shew an expenditure of 99,324*l.* against a revenue of 90,400*l.* The proposals of Lord Harris having been modified by the Legislative Council which met on the 6th of October last, we now give the resolutions in full.

"1. That it is expedient that the annual expenses of immigration should for the future be defrayed from the annual revenues of the colony, and not from monies raised by way of loan.

"2. That it is expedient that the duties on rum and other spirits manufactured and consumed in the colony, and the duties on wine and spirits imported into this colony, be raised to double the amount of the present rates.

"3. That it is expedient that the revenue to be raised from the duties on rum and other spirits manufactured and consumed in the colony, after deducting the expenses of collection, be appropriated—first, to making good the annual charge for the interest and sinking fund in respect of the three sums of 75,000*l.*, 100,000*l.*, and 25,000*l.* sterling, taken up under the authority of the Ordinances No. 5, of 1847, No. 14, of 1850, and No. 9, of 1853, and next, to the expenses of immigration.

"4. That it is expedient that the annual duty payable to Her Majesty by the employers of new immigrants be charged at such a rate as will throw on the particular employers of such immigrants half of the expenses of the immigration and return passages of such immigrants, and that the rate of monthly duties payable by new immigrants not under a written engagement to labour, be charged in a like proportion: That so soon as the annual income, to be raised from the proposed duties on rum, wines, and spirits, and from the duties in respect of new immigrants, shall leave a surplus after satisfying the annual charge for such interest and sinking fund in respect of the said three sums of 75,000*l.*, 100,000*l.*, and 25,000*l.* sterling, and the annual expenses of immigration, including the return passages of

the immigrants, the duties of import on the first necessities of life be abolished or reduced as such surplus will admit."

BARRADOES.—The Legislature of Barbadoes has adopted a petition to the Home Government on the subject of a reduction of the sugar duties. It proposes a plan, based upon the principles of recent legislation, by which the sugar-grower would be greatly benefited. The proposition is, that the same rule be followed with sugar as with tea; that as a certain amount of duty must be maintained for revenue purposes, the reduction of the existing duties should be gradual, until a maximum of ten per cent. on the value of the article shall have been attained, at which point it should stop. At the present time the duty on sugar amounts to forty per cent. of its value.

"THE SUGAR CROP.—The following statement of the quantity of produce shipped from Barbadoes, for 1853, is taken from the books of the Commercial Rooms. The quantity of sugar exported amounted to 38,758 hogsheads, and of molasses, 13,957 puncheons. The consumption of sugar in the island for the year is generally considered to be about 2000 hogsheads: the amount of the last crop of sugar would therefore be about 40,758 hogsheads. Now, allowing sixty gallons of molasses to each hogshead of sugar, which is the usual average taken, the quantity of molasses would amount to 2,445,480 gallons, equal to 22,231 puncheons of 110 gallons. Of this quantity, it appears 13,957 puncheons are shipped; the remainder, 8274 puncheons, are retained either for consumption, or to be converted into rum. Now, the consumption of molasses is much greater than the consumption of sugar, because it is used by the labouring classes in the place of sugar. It is also frequently given away to the labourers on estates as an encouragement for extra exertions; on which account a puncheon or two are generally kept on every estate after the crop is over. We should say that the home consumption must therefore be equal fully to one-third of the whole amount, which, in the present year, would amount to 7410 puncheons. But putting it down at 7000 puncheons, it would leave 1274 puncheons, or 140,140 gallons, to be made into rum, which would yield the same number of gallons of rum for the crop of last year.

"According to this calculation, it appears that the quantity of rum manufactured last year—a year of considerably more than the average production of the sugar crop—amounted to somewhere about 140,000 gallons; that is, a gallon per head for the whole of the population of the island.

"The value of the crop of 1853, taking 15*l.* as the average net price of a hogshead of sugar, and 15 dollars for each puncheon of molasses, amounts to 624,985*l.*, as follows:

38,758 hds. of sugar, at 15 <i>l.</i> each	£581,370
13,957 puncheons of molasses, at	
15 dol. each	43,615

Total £624,985

which is the value of the quantity exported, and

is exclusive of the quantity of these products consumed within the island, as well as of the rum manufactured on the estates, and of the value of the minor products of aloes, arrowroot, cotton, and ginger. If the value of these is taken into account, and of the provisions grown on the estates, and sold in the markets, the total value of the crop of Barbadoes for 1853, of every description of agricultural produce, may safely be estimated, we doubt not, at a sum not far short of 7,000,000*l.*, or 7*l.* per acre."

ST. LUCIA.—"The crop being over," says the *St. Lucia Palladium* of November 29th, "and the last shipment made, we are enabled to give the amount total of the sugar exported during the current year. The expectations of the planters have not been fully realized, on account of unforeseen circumstances over which they could have no possible control. It is to be regretted that after having extended their cultivation, and consequently expended a large amount of capital without a sufficient return, the proprietors of some estates, on account of not being able, from the want of labour, to take off the whole of their crops, have forty, others fifty and sixty hogsheads remaining on the ground. If it were not that the labourers were drawn away from the estates during the crop season, to be almost uselessly employed on the public roads, instead of being about 145 hogsheads short of the previous year, the present crop would have been in excess some two or three hundred hogsheads: as it is, the exports shew the amount shipped to be 5049 hhd*s.*, 214 tierces, 2238½ barrels of sugar; 1491 puncheons of molasses; 20 puncheons of rum; 337 tons of logwood, and 80 barrels of sulphur."

TORTOLA.—"The late occurrences have proved that it is impossible to continue the present financial arrangement, and to raise a revenue that will maintain the state of things established under a widely-different social system, and at a time when the colony was rich and prosperous. The draught of a bill, about to be introduced into the legislature, was submitted to His Excellency the Governor-in-Chief during his recent visit, having for its object a total repeal of all existing revenue laws and tax acts, and the substitution of a new plan of taxation. There will be neither import or export taxes, goat or pig tax of any kind; but a kind of capitation tax, which will be levied on all residents in the islands, which, with a property tax, and a dollar on all vessels over a certain tonnage calling at the port, will comprise the whole taxation of the colony. Every labourer will have a certain amount of direct tax to pay; so will every tradesman, merchant, shopkeeper, pedlar, professional man, shipmaster, &c. &c. A tax will also be levied on estates. The Tortolians will have free trade in its most extended form. Any man may import or export whatever he thinks proper, without leave of custom-house officer, treasurer, or revenue officer of any kind being asked or required. The income, under the new scheme, is calculated at 1800*l.* This will abolish a number of useless offices."—*Antigua Weekly Register*, Oct. 18.

AFRICAN COMMERCE *versus* THE SLAVE TRADE.

WE append a brief extract from a letter recently addressed to a gentleman in London, by President Roberts of Liberia. It is dated from Monrovia, July 6th ultimo. As illustrative of the gradual but certain change which habits of industry and an increasing foreign demand for native produce are producing amongst the tribes of the interior, it is extremely encouraging, and we are in a position to affirm that a desire for commercial enterprise is rapidly spreading along the coast, and making its way into the interior.

"The rapidity with which commerce is increasing along this coast is almost incredible, though easily accounted for. Thousands and thousands of the inhabitants of the coast and of the interior, who once obtained their supply of foreign goods by means of the slave-trade, now that that odious traffic, at least on this part of the African coast, is abolished, have necessarily to turn their attention to legitimate commerce, the collection of palm-oil, camwood, ivory, &c., to procure their accustomed supply of foreign merchandise.

"A few days since an old chief, who had come down with a large caravan from the interior, some eighty or a hundred miles, called on me, and in the course of conversation remarked that he had felt exceedingly indignant towards the Liberians for interfering with the slave-trade. His grandfather and his father, he said, for many, many years had sold slaves, and they were rich, but the Liberians had made him poor: he had therefore intended never to visit Monrovia, or have any thing to do with the Americans. He was now convinced, however, that the slave-trade was very cruel; that it has produced a great deal of distress and suffering among the country-people; and when he used to sell slaves he often felt much disquietude, and he was now very glad that the Liberians had interposed to prevent the foreign slave-trade; but, says the old fellow, with an arch smile, *American man must no talk slave palaver 'gin, s'pose we no sell him Spannar man.* Meaning, of course, we must not interfere with domestic slave-trade. For the last year, he said, he had employed the slaves he would have sold, had an opportunity offered, in cultivating large rice-fields, and in making palm-oil, collecting camwood, &c., which he found yielded him more than the amount he would have received for his slaves had he sold them. And this sentiment is almost daily expressed by many of the chiefs in our neighbourhood.

"The great trouble now is, and to which we are turning attention, the extinction of domestic slavery among the native tribes. * * *

* * * We shall doubtless have considerable difficulty with some of the chiefs in regard to this matter, but I am quite sanguine we shall succeed. The fact is, Liberia is now the Canada of Africa for fugitive slaves. Slaves are constantly taking refuge within our jurisdiction."

The letter in question appears in the November Number of the *African Repository*,

and contains a passage from which we gather that the President does not entertain a hope that the Federal Government of America will speedily recognise the independence of the Liberian Republic. It also enunciates a sentiment from which we feel bound to express our unqualified dissent, namely: "that the only feasible hope of the African Race, with respect to obtaining and maintaining an equality with other races of men, is a *separate and distinct nationality*." We have no hesitation in asserting that the operation of such a conviction in America is at the root of those oppressive enactments against the coloured people, which the various State legislatures have passed from time to time; which have proved the chief barriers to their social and political elevation, and have done as much as even slavery itself to perpetuate the prejudice against colour and caste which prevails to so deplorable an extent in the United States. To such a conviction the *Colonization Society* owes its rise, and much of the opposition it has encountered from Abolitionists in America and in England; and we deeply regret to find President Roberts—himself one of the race—giving publicity and all the weight that attaches to his testimony as a man of colour, to a doctrine so mischievous, and so discouraging to his "unfortunate brethren" in America, who are meritoriously struggling upwards through contumely, oppression, and wrong.

OUR ADDRESS TO CHURCHES.

WE conclude our record of responses delivered to our *Address to Churches*.

Resolution passed by the *City-Road Congregational Chapel*, at a meeting of the Church, held Friday, July 1st, 1853. The Pastor in the Chair.

"That this church, deeply impressed with the conviction that slavery is not only a violation of the law of God and the rights of man, but prolific of great misery and vice; and considering that the prevalence of this evil in the United States of America is in a great degree attributable to the support afforded to it by professing Christians, feels constrained to mark its sense of such inconsistency, by declaring it can have no fellowship at the Lord's Table with any such church member who sanctions its continuance.

"WILLIAM SPENCER EDWARDS, Chairman."

At a general meeting of the *Aberdeen Unitarian Congregation*, held May 14, 1853, the following resolution was adopted:

"This meeting is desirous of expressing its earnest conviction that slavery is a violation of the eternal laws of justice and humanity; and that it conceives it to be the solemn duty of all Christian Societies to aid towards its abolition. That a copy of this resolution be sent to the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, with the sincere thanks of this meeting for the timely

service that has been rendered to the cause of abolitionism by that Society

"On behalf of the Congregation,

"D. GRIFFITH."

Resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting of the *West Riding Unitarian Tract and Village Mission Society*, held at Bradford, on Wednesday, June 8th, 1853:

"That this meeting, in the same spirit in which, two years ago, the assembled friends of the Society recorded their 'sorrowful surprise' at the then 'fresh effort made in the United States' to perpetuate slavery 'by means of the Fugitive Slave Law,' and their 'grief and shame' to see the observance of that law advocated by 'professors and ministers of the Gospel of Christ,' is now impelled to cast its glance sadly, and yet trustfully, upon the same dark page of human life.

"Believing that all true Christians must desire and anticipate, and ought, according to their opportunities and powers, to labour for, the extinction of slavery wherever it exists, we gladly hail the rapid growth of public opinion on the subject, as distinctly marked by the production, and widely promoted by the diffusion of that true and powerful book *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

"That we rely upon the growth of Christian opinion and Christian feeling on both sides of the Atlantic, to bring this question more and more rapidly towards its solution, with the aid of those great providential agencies which shew slavery to be an accursed as well as a sinful thing; and, without presuming to judge or condemn those whose plans of abolition may be more rapid or more gradual than our own, we would give our sympathy and good wishes, and, so far as we can, our help, to all well-advised plans for emancipation, and say, *God speed to the Emancipators*."

"That the foregoing resolutions be forwarded by the Secretary of the Society to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, London, and to the Rev. Samuel J. May, of Syracuse, New York, for presentation to the American Unitarian Association."

Resolutions passed at the Annual Meeting of the *Derbyshire Congregational Union*, held at Belper, April 21st, 1853, and of which a copy was forwarded to the Secretary of the *Congregational Union*.

"That this meeting, convinced that slavery is a sin and a crime before God, deeply deplores the sanction that is given to the system of slaveholding by so many of the American churches, both by the Southern and Northern States of the Union, especially in withholding Christian fellowship from the coloured population.

"In thus expressing its feeling, this meeting has been prompted by the belief that no Christian community can view the perpetration of an enormous iniquity by another people professing the same religion, without being sensible that their common faith is outraged and scandalized, nor without remonstrating with its perpetrators in a Christian spirit and as a solemn act of duty; and that it cannot consistently continue to hold fellowship with them, if, after admonition, they persist in their sin.

"That this meeting therefore urges upon the *Congregational Union of England and Wales* the duty of remonstrating with their American brethren, and of entreating them to bear an open and uncompromising testimony against the baneful system, and to use their influence to effect its immediate removal."

Resolution passed at the *Congregational Meeting of Christ-Church Chapel*, Bridgewater, held at the Chapel, on Sunday, May 15th, 1853.

"That at the present period of unexampled interest throughout the civilized world on the important subject of American slavery, this meeting considers that Unitarian Christians are called upon, by their principles and position as a religious body, to respond to the solemn appeal of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*; and earnestly hopes, that at the approaching anniversary of the *British and Foreign Unitarian Association*, a faithful and Christian exhortation may be addressed to their brethren of a common faith in America, affectionately entreating them, in some way corresponding to their social influence and exalted religious views, to bear their testimony against slavery, and to use their utmost efforts for its speedy abolition."

Resolution passed at a Public Meeting held at Swansea, the Rev. the Vicar in the Chair.

"That this meeting, having heard read the Address and the Circular of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, pledges itself to use all legitimate exertion in uttering its loud protest against the connection between the churches of America and the abominable system of slavery; and further pledges itself to refuse all recognition of, and communion with, slave-holding churches."

AMERICAN ABOLITIONIST MOVEMENTS.

We have received the Annual Report of the *American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society*, an abstract of which, as presented at the Society's Yearly Meeting, at New York, on the 11th May, we gave in our number for July last. The publication of this document has, it appears, been considerably delayed owing to the indisposition of its active Corresponding Secretary, Mr. Lewis Tappan, and to other causes, including a severe domestic bereavement. It forms a large octavo volume of some two hundred and sixteen closely printed pages, replete with valuable and varied information on every phase of the anti-slavery struggle in America during the year 1851-52. Our limited space precludes our presenting an extended abstract, and we should be doing great injustice to the remarkable ability with which it is drawn up did we attempt to give an outline of its interesting contents. We propose, however, to quote largely from it, as occasion may require, and may add, that it will abundantly repay an attentive perusal.

To two points embraced in the Society's

recent operations we may especially refer. The first is the establishment at Washington of a German weekly newspaper, entitled, *Der National Demokrat*, of which the first number has been forwarded to us, and to which fact we adverted in a previous number. The second is the issue, by the Executive Committee, of the following address, under the head of

PETITIONS TO CONGRESS.

The Executive Committee of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society desire to call the attention of the friends of freedom, throughout the country, to the importance of petitioning the Congress of the United States on the subject of American slavery. The following extract is from the last Annual Report of the Society:

"We have been surprised to learn how few petitions were sent to the last Congress on the subject of slavery. Some members, we learn, did not receive a single petition during the whole of the last session. Notwithstanding this, some persons have complained that the free democratic members in one or both Houses did not say more on the subject in debate. Scarcely any thing has been more efficacious in advancing the anti-slavery cause in this country than the agitation of the subject on the floors of Congress. The great agitator, Adams, enlightened the minds of his hearers, and of the people, by his array of facts, his arguments, his predictions, his moral heroism. Others have emulated his example. Let it be seen that there is kept up a continual 'fire in the rear,' to use the language of ex-Senator Hale, and members of Congress will be emboldened to speak and ready to hear on this momentous subject. To this end, petitions should be circulated throughout the country on slavery."

"1. Against slavery in the district of Columbia, as unconstitutional.

"2. Against slavery in the district of Columbia, as discreditable to the nation, and wrong in itself.

"3. Against the coastwise slave-trade.

"4. Against the inter-State slave-trade.

"5. Against slavery in new territories.

"6. Against slavery wherever, under the constitution, the free States are responsible for it.

"7. For the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

"'Up and at 'em!' was the cry of Wellington at Waterloo. Let us adopt the emphatic language of the veteran in our anti-slavery call to the Abolition host of the United States. Petition, memorialise, remonstrate! all in respectful, but decided terms. Agitation is the life of the cause, and of every good cause. Let it not cease until the American bastille falls, and the long-imprisoned inmates walk forth into the pure air of freedom, disenthralled, and in full possession of their inalienable rights, 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.'"

The Committee earnestly hope that a wide publicity will be given to the subject of this Circular in all the anti-slavery newspapers of the country, and that the friends of the cause everywhere will immediately prepare and circulate forms of petitions; and that, when properly signed, they will see that the same are transmitted, as early as

possible during the session, to some trusty member of Congress for presentation.

By order of the Committee,

LEWIS TAPPAN, *Cor. Sec.*

New York, November 15, 1853.

The *National Era* of the 1st December supports this appeal by a leader, which we subjoin as curiously illustrative of the application, for the purpose, in this instance, of accomplishing the removal of a national curse, of our own good old constitutional right of petition for the redress of national grievances.

"PETITIONS.

"The sessions of Congress and of the State Legislatures will soon commence. Members are apt to forget that they have constituents, and need to be reminded of their existence and interest in public affairs.

"We hope that no friend of freedom, whatever may be his party or no party connection, will be indifferent to the duty of calling the attention of both Houses of Congress and the State Legislatures to the great question of slavery. It is boasted that the agitation for freedom has been suppressed. Let it be seen that the people are more than ever engaged in the work of ridding the country of slavery.

"It will be wise to confine the prayer of petitions to objects which all agree can be effected by the body to which they may be addressed, and thus to concentrate upon these objects the largest possible force of public sentiment.

"For instance. No one can rationally deny the power of Congress to prohibit slaveholding in the district and in the territories; to prohibit the slave-trade in the licensed and registered vessels of the United States; to prohibit the sale of persons under federal process; to repeal the Fugitive Slave Act. No earnest anti-slavery man can fail to wish for the accomplishment of these great objects.

"We think, then, it would be well to confine the petitions to Congress to these five objects; and we would suggest a form, something like the following:

"To the Senate and House of Representatives:

"The undersigned, citizens of ——— county, in the State of ———, respectfully pray that Congress will provide, by proper legislation, for the complete divorce and separation of the National Government from slavery; and especially,

"1. For the prohibition of slavery in the District of Columbia.

"2. For the prohibition of slavery in the territories.

"3. For the prohibition of the slave-trade in the licensed and registered vessels of the United States.

"4. For the prohibition of the sale of persons under the federal process.

"5. For the repeal of the Fugitive Slave Act.

"Petitions to the State Legislatures should ask that these Assemblies will pass resolutions instructing their Senators and requesting their Representatives in Congress to pass laws to effect the same object by the same means, and

also enacting a law securing the personal liberty of all inhabitants of the State.

"The petitions should be drawn up clearly and distinctly, in a legible hand, and each person asked to subscribe should be made fully aware of the purposes in view.

"Who will devote himself to this work? The time presses, and the need of action is urgent. Anti-slavery men have been distinguished for their intelligence, devotion, and energy."

The *Pennsylvania Freeman*, of the 4th November, has also come to hand, by which we learn that the Sixteenth Annual Meeting of the *Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Society* was held on the 24th October last, James Mott, Esq., the President of the Society, occupying the Chair. Two active members of this Society were in England not long since, namely: J. M. M'Kim, Esq., the Corresponding Secretary, and Miss S. Pugh, the Treasurer, who will no doubt be remembered by numerous anti-slavery friends in various parts of Great Britain. The proceedings lasted two days and part of a third, embracing a variety of topics connected with the various aspects of the cause, and a recital from Mr. M'Kim of the impressions he had derived in the course of his recent visit to this country. The following were the principal Resolutions passed, together with one strongly condemnatory of the American Colonization Society.

"1. Resolved, That the American anti-slavery enterprise is one of personal interest to every individual of this nation, inasmuch as the liberties of each, and the prosperity of all, are involved in it; and as slavery is not a sectional but a national crime, it is a duty which all owe to themselves, their posterity, and their country, to labour for its immediate overthrow.

"2. Resolved, That the statute popularly called the Fugitive Slave Law is a bold and impious denial of the rights of man and the authority of God; that it corrupts the judiciary, depraves the pulpit, and debauches the conscience of this nation; and therefore it is a sin on the part of any individual to attempt to enforce it or to obey it; and our obligations of obedience to God and love to man require us to protest against it by earnest words and brave deeds.

"3. Resolved, That in the scenes of barbarous cruelty recently enacted in Wilkesbarre, and in the judicial proceedings consequent thereon, in which officers of the United States Government trampled on the plainest principles of law and justice, offered gratuitous insults to orderly and peaceable citizens, and outraged the common sympathies of humanity, we see the natural results of the execution of this infamous statute, and the danger which it threatens to the liberties of every American citizen.

We observe that the Eighteenth Anniversary of the *Pennsylvania Anti-Slavery Fair* was announced to commence on the 5th December, and to continue for that and the three following days and evenings, and

that a meeting was to be held on the 3d, 4th, and 5th of the same month, to commemorate the second decade of the formation of the *American Anti-Slavery Society*. The *National Anti-Slavery Bazaar*, in aid of the Society, was likewise advertised to open in Boston on the 21st December.

The *New-York Anti-Slavery Society*, Auxiliary to the *American Anti-Slavery Society*, announces a course of Anti-Slavery Lectures, to be delivered on each successive Tuesday evening, commencing December 13th, at the Broadway *Tabernacle*, New York. The Lectures are to be delivered, *seriatim*, by the following eminent advocates of freedom, comprising, as will be seen, individuals identified with almost every section of the American Abolitionists, namely: Hon. John P. Hale, Hon. John G. Palfrey, Hon. Joshua R. Giddings, Mr. C. Lenox Bement, John Jay, Esq., Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, Miss Lucy Stone, Horace Greeley, Rev. William H. Furness, William Lloyd Garrison, Rev. Theodore Parker, Wendell Phillips, Esq., Ralph Waldo Emerson.

AMERICAN SLAVERY AND AMERICAN CHURCHES.

ADDRESSED TO IRISHMEN IN AMERICA.

At a time when Mrs. Stowe is endeavouring to impress upon the good people of Ireland who are interested in the anti-slavery cause, the importance of imbuing with healthy sentiment on the subject of slavery and slave-holding, the multitudes who are leaving Ireland to seek a home in the United States, we deem it to be our duty to re-publish, from a recent number of the *Belfast Mercury*, the following very spirited address on the subject of American Slavery and American Churches, in the hope that our transatlantic coadjutors will, by reprinting it in their journals, give it extensive circulation.

"In bringing this awful theme occasionally before our readers, let us not be accused of any desire to inflict gratuitous pain. The subject is pressing, and will continue to press more and more on public attention in these countries. The time is rapidly approaching when we can no longer refuse to listen to the harrowing and horrible details of the slave system in the United States of America. The atrocities perpetrated there by a people speaking our language and allied to us by blood, have become so frightful and of such daily occurrence, that the whole civilized world stands aghast! We cannot excuse ourselves for apathy in the great controversy between the oppressors and their victims by the plea that we are not American citizens, and consequently have no means of making our voices heard on the other side of the Atlantic. We have no vote, it is true, in the returning of members to Congress, or in the election of the President of the vaunted Republic. But are not multitudes of those who go forth to record their votes on such occasions our

former neighbours and acquaintances? Nay, are there not hosts of them our own relations or attached friends? It is a common saying amongst us, in the North of Ireland (and it is a true one), that there is, perhaps, scarcely a family existing at present here who has not connections in America. There are few names here that are not also found there; there are few specimens of 'the human face divine' adorning the green hills and fruitful valleys of Ireland, whose features may not be traced in the cities or in the plantations of the United States. What then? Why, simply this: Could not much be done in assisting to bring this fearful struggle to a favourable issue, by urgent, individual appeals from ourselves, addressed to our several family connections in America, affectionately beseeching them to consider their position as members of a slave-holding community, imploring them, by their love of liberty, their reverence for that human nature which God has given them in common with the poor slave, and their anxiety for the safety of the great social fabric of which they form a part, to vote, speak, agitate, and pray for the speedy abolition of the diabolical system of negro slavery as practised among them? Surely our emigrant friends—the exiles from Erin—are not all prepared to acquiesce in the dreary and eternal reign of diabolism and despair. We know that there are, unfortunately, too many dastardly wretches who, as soon as they touch the soil of the United States, lose all their former ideas of right and wrong, of freedom and slavery. They cast their scruples of conscience into the sea over which they have sailed, and enter the territory of the Republic prepared to obey its mandates respecting the negroes, even, if need be, to the simple shedding of the blood and selling the skins of the coloured population.

"But such, we would hope, are dire exceptions to the general rule. The vast majority of emigrants are opposed to slavery, and a few years' residence in the United States, so far from disarming their opposition, should rather confirm it. If so, why should they not be called on and encouraged by their relatives here to organise their opposition, and to exert themselves for the return of Abolitionist representatives? Very many of such family connections may be living in States which do not hold slaves; but the whole American Union sanctions the shocking traffic, and the Fugitive Slave Law extends to every portion of territory claimed by the United States. A memorable and melancholy illustration of this fact occurred at Boston some time ago. A coloured girl, eighteen years of age, escaped from slavery in South Carolina, and came to Boston. She was there respectably married, and had lived happily with her husband for the space of seven years. She had two children (boys), one six and the other four years old. The Fugitive Slave Law was passed, and then the father, who was a free citizen, had no longer any right to his little boys, because their mother had been a slave! Immediately, a law officer, with a writ for her arrest, came to Boston, and would have carried her and her children back into slavery, but for the timely assistance of kind friends, who secretly conveyed them to another locality. John S. C. Abbot, who narrates the whole affair in the *New York Evangelist*, remarks, in reference to this particular

instance of the operation of the villanous Fugitive Slave Act:

"A young, healthy, energetic mother, with two fine boys, was a rich prize. She would make an excellent breeder. Good men began to say, "We must enforce this law: it is one of the compromises of the Constitution." Christian ministers began to preach, "The voice of law is the voice of God. There is no higher rule of duty. We must send back the fugitive and her children, even though we take our sister from the sacramental table of our common Saviour!"

"O ruthless ribald Priests, say we! O traitors to your 'common Saviour,' more selfish and degraded than he who kissed and sold him for thirty pieces of silver! O wretched sophists, who substitute the 'doctrine of devils' for the Gospel of peace and good will to men! Out upon you, base deniers of the Lord that bought you!

"These are bitter words; but any others would fail to express our utter and unmitigated scorn for slave-holding and slave-breeding Christian ministers. Christian, forsooth! Is there any national crime to be found anywhere under the sun, so atrocious, and gigantic withal, as the slave system of Christian America? Is there any enormity perpetrated among 'many black Gentoos or Pagan Turks,' which in turpitude, cruelty, selfishness, and all iniquity, can be compared to it? We are aware of none. When slavery assumes the garb, and claims the sanction, of religion, it becomes indescribably hideous! When the professed teachers of Christianity are such utter renegades to the humanity, morality, and liberty of the Gospel, as to recommend, or wink at, much less to practise, the revolting doctrines of the American slave laws, we can only tremble when we think of the doom which the Republic thus fatally prepares for itself! Religion pre-eminently sanctions the sacredness of the marriage bond, and the enjoyments and charities of home; but slavery, as *defined and recommended and practised* by many American clergymen (we believe of every sect), ruthlessly violates the holiest and tenderest affection of the human heart. Christianity defines and enforces the duties of husbands and wives, but the American slave code compels the coloured portion of the population to live in a state of concubinage; for, in the eye of the law, no slave man is the husband of any wife *in particular*, nor is any slave woman the wife of any husband *in particular*! The religion of the Bible touchingly refers to the relation between parents and children; but, in the eye of the law, no slave men or women are the parents of any children *in particular*, and no slave children can claim the protection of any parents *in particular*!

"Not only do individual clergymen speculate in this accursed traffic on their own account, but **WHOLE CHURCHES** engage actively and advantageously in the jobbing of slaves. The lay members of many churches, of various names, get hold of a lot of male and female slaves (bequeathed, probably, by some deceased pew-renters, to secure the permanent spiritual instruction of their fellow-sinners), and with the funds derived from the toils, sufferings, and *propagation* of these unfortunates, the churches are able to pay a large stipend to the hireling mountebanks whom they

call preachers. The practice, in such cases, is to hire out to the highest bidders the slaves thus constituting the property of said churches, *on the Christmas day of each year*, the day which these precious Christians celebrate as a sort of festival intended to commemorate the birth of the Redeemer! Very nice, business-like arrangement that! It secures to the people the usual amount of pulpit edification during the ensuing year; and when occasion requires, they may enjoy, too, the *sealing ordinances* of religion. It secures, also, to the minister his yearly allowance, in lieu of which he is expected to teach the *whites* that they are a great and a free people, and the *blacks*, that God has *appointed them to be servants*, and that their only hope of salvation is submission and subordination!

"But the American Christians can make their slaves do greater things than even pay stipend. In many instances, it is the poor slave who educates and prepares the candidates for the Christian Ministry. In other words, certain *theological seminaries* are supported by slave-labour and slave-dealing! Occasionally, advertisements appear in the American newspapers, announcing sales of slaves to satisfy mortgages in favour of the Board of Directors of this or that Theological Seminary! We have seen an advertisement calling public attention to 'a prime gang of negroes' which (not who) were offered for sale by an Independent Church. When a Doctor of Divinity dies, and goes to render an account of his stewardship, his worldly effects are generally brought to the hammer, and nothing is more common than to see lots of slaves advertised as part of the chattel property of the deceased. The following paragraph from a letter, addressed by Loyd Garrison to Louis Kossuth, gives us a glance at the lamentable scenes which are daily taking place throughout that wretched land:—

"A Presbyterian elder, *in good and regular standing*, a reputed watchman upon the walls of Zion, among his goods and chattels owned a young female, who is a member of the Congregational Baptist church, which was under the pastoral charge of the Rev. Mr. Samson, the church at which Secretary Corwin and family worship. This female *displeased* her *religious* master in some way, and he, Christian man, forthwith gave her into the hands of the slave-traders, who took her over to Alexandria, and incarcerated her, with others, in a slave-pen, where she is to remain with others until a *full drove* is made up for the Southern market. When spoken to on the subject, the grey-haired elder excused himself by charging her with crime! The girl protested her innocence, and desired, even begged, for a trial. This poor helpless slave has a mother, who is also a slave, subject to all the rigours of *lower law*. When apprised of the situation of her daughter, she flew to the "pen," and, with tears, besought an interview with her only child; but she was cruelly refused, and told to be gone."

"Yes; she was never, in this world, to meet her poor daughter again. The Presbyterian elder has separated them for ever!"

ANTI-SLAVERY LECTURES.

We are glad to see once again actively engaged in promoting the anti-slavery cause that well-known and eloquent advocate of immediate and unconditional emancipation, Mr. George Thompson, late member for the Tower Hamlets. We subjoin a notice of the lectures and addresses he has delivered since the 2d of December.

"Friday, Dec. 2. *Bury*.

"Monday, Dec. 5. *Heywood*.—In the Hall of the Mechanics' Institution. A good audience. A leading cotton-spinner in the chair. The Wesleyan, Baptist, and Independent ministers present. A resolution unanimously passed.

"Tuesday, Dec. 6. *Blackburn*.—In a fine school-room. Rev. F. Skinner in the chair. A large audience. The dissenting ministers on the platform.

"Wednesday, Dec. 7. *Clitheroe*.—In the Independent Meeting-house to a very crowded audience. The Mayor in the chair. Wesleyan and dissenting ministers present and assisting.

"Thursday, Dec. 8. *Rochdale*.—H. Kelsall, the largest manufacturer in the town, in the chair. A resolution of deep sympathy in the principles and objects I had advocated; seconded by John Bright, M.P., in a good and hearty speech."*

"Saturday, Dec. 10.—Addressed the Ladies' Committee in Manchester at a tea-meeting. A pleasant and profitable evening."

"Monday, 12th, Thursday, 15th, and Monday the 19th. *Manchester*.—In the Friends' Meeting-house.

We are informed that the addresses and the lectures, in all their essential features, were identical. *Slavery in America*—its origin, growth, and present extent and character, with its influence upon the literature, religion, politics, and government of the United States. *The Anti-Slavery movement*—commencement, progress, principles, and results. *The Remedies for Slavery*, &c. &c.

In all the places which have been mentioned Mr. Thompson has promised to give a second lecture upon the bearings of the

* A local paper which has been sent to us, and which contains a brief report of the proceedings at this meeting, gives the following extract from Mr. Bright's speech:—

"There was one point in the latter part of Mr. Thompson's speech, with regard to the cultivation of cotton in India, which he thought worthy of attention. Lately he had spent an evening with a gentleman who had been officially connected with the government of America. That gentleman seemed to have a strong opinion of slavery, and said he thought it a blessing to both countries, and expressed his opinion that if any thing was calculated to interfere with slavery in America it was the cultivation of cotton in India. The first great blow would be struck at slavery the moment Liverpool market could be supplied with cotton of a proper quality and quantity: (Hear, hear.)"—[*Ed. A. S. R.*]

cotton question on the question of American slavery.

We are further informed, that, judging from present appearances, it is quite possible to call into existence and operation a large amount of anti-slavery feeling in the manufacturing districts, especially if the British-India view of the subject be properly presented, and the interests of the people be appealed to, as well as their moral susceptibilities.

We have also received intimation of the delivery of the following lectures by Professor Allen, for a narrative of whose romantic history we refer our readers to the June 1853 number of the *Reporter*—article, *Prejudice against Colour*.

"Nov. 29. *At the Stock Exchange, Leeds*.—The Mayor, John Wilson, Esq., in the chair. Subject: 'American Slavery and the Prejudice against Colour.'

"Dec. 1. *At the same place*.—The Rev. W. Sinclair, M.A., Incumbent of St. George's, in the chair. Subject: 'The Social and Political Condition of the Free Coloured People of the Northern States of America.'

"Dec. 5. *At the same place*.—Edward Baines, Esq., in the chair. Subject: 'The probable destiny of the Coloured Race.'

At the close of the course of lectures the following resolution was passed unanimously, and with great acclamation:

"That this meeting desires to record a vote of thanks to Professor Allen for his interesting lectures *On American Slavery and Prejudice against Colour*; *On the Social and Political Condition of the Free Coloured People of the Northern States of America*; and *On the probable Destiny of the Coloured Race*. That this meeting also wishes to express its strong abhorrence of the whole system of slavery, as well as of the prejudice existing against the coloured people of the Free States of America, which exhibits itself in various ways, in direct opposition to every right and Christian feeling, as is strongly exemplified in the case of the learned lecturer, whom, with his truly heroic wife, we feel to have a large claim on our sympathy, under the peculiarly trying circumstances into which this prejudicial feeling has brought them."

"Dec. 8. *Bradford*.—At the Mechanics' Institute. The Rev. Dr. Godwin in the chair."

We understand that Professor Allen has since addressed large audiences at Newcastle-on-Tyne, and is now fully engaged in the North, in the prosecution of his anti-slavery campaign.

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

We beg to acknowledge the receipt of a Donation of Fifty Pounds from Joseph Sturge, Esq., of Birmingham, and sundry small ones, of which we shall publish a list in our next.

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Sold by W. Everett, 14, Finch Lane, and 17, Royal Exchange.